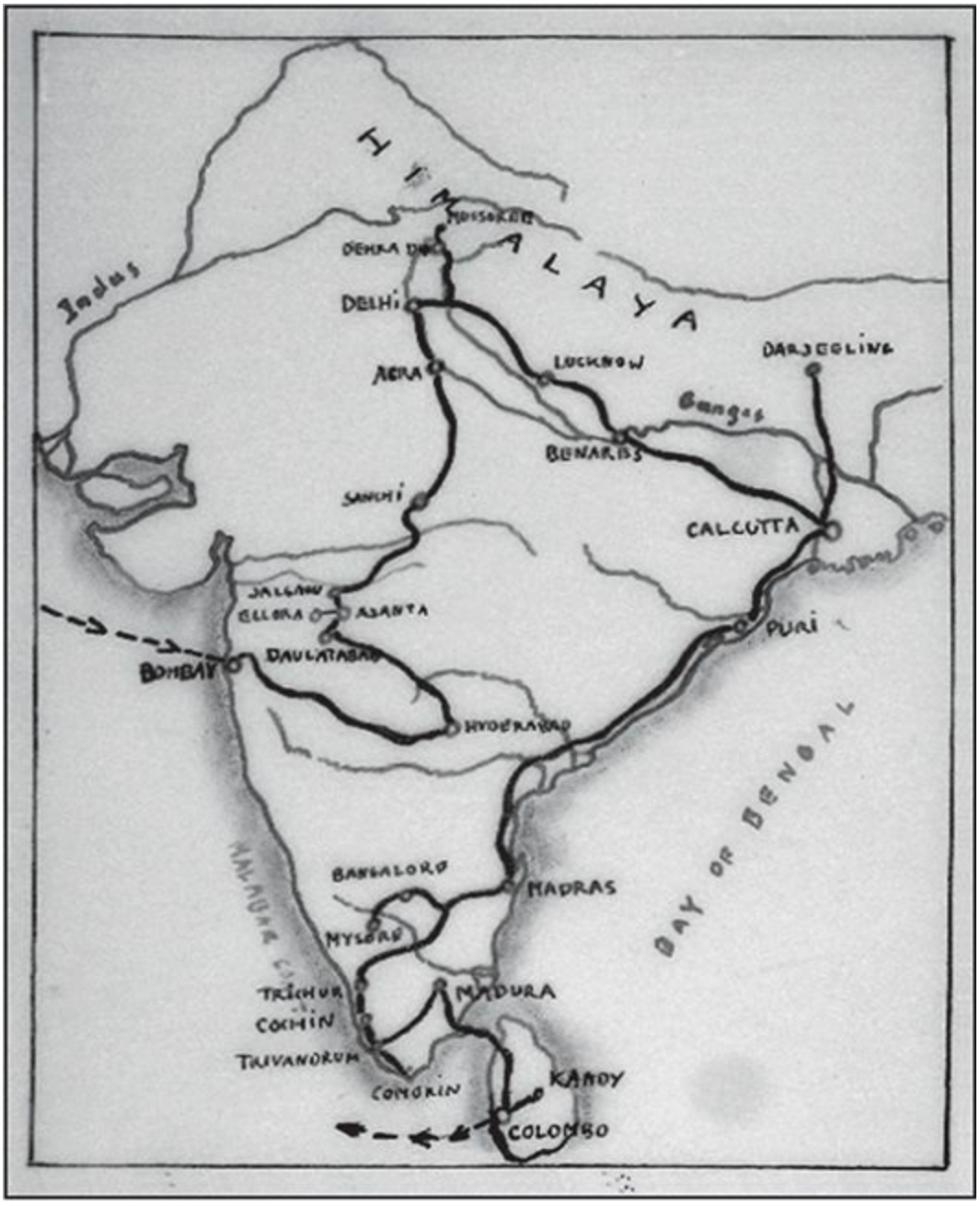
Jung in India



Sulagna Sengupta

JUNG IN INDIA



Jung's travel route in India. Jung had this map prepared describing the route, destinations, and stopovers.

JUNG IN INDIA

Sulagna Sengupta



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In memory of my parents.

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PREFACE

My journey into the world of Jungian psychology was a long and circuitous one. For years I thumbed through the pages of Jung's *Man and His Symbols* but did not relate to his psychology deeply. Then in 2004, after attending a group psychology program at Leicester conducted by the Tavistock Institute, I came back to India and rediscovered Jung through the world of analysis and analytical psychology. For eight years after that, the principal author I read was Jung; for some time the only work I was engaged in was my personal analysis and a two-year depth psychology program in Bangalore, followed by many months of research on Jung's obscure history in India. My life changed significantly after that. My copy of *Man and His Symbols* had aged by then, its edges worn out, but through all the ups and downs of those years, it has faithfully remained with me. In many ways, therefore, Jung's journey to India embodies the essence of other life journeys, lesser known, but which have been inexorably healing and restorative in spirit.

Jung in India is not a narration of Carl Jung's psychological ideas with respect to India. It is a historical account of his journey to India and a description of the circumstances around which his relationship with India unfolded. The journey shows how Jungian psychology traveled to India to reach its present form and expression and how that history locates Jung in a cultural context outside his own.

Chapter Outlines

The book is spread over eight chapters and two appendices. The core theme is Jung's journey of 1937. The opening chapters precede the actual journey, tracing Jung's early links with India. The closing chapters describe his last links with India. The four chapters in the middle describe the journey in totality. Two appendices present important archival information about

Jung in India.

The introductory chapter describes the events that led to the inception of the study and relates this to Jung's conception of synchronicity. The historical sources of the study and the significance of Jung's journey are also described in this chapter.

The second chapter outlines the backdrop of Jung's relation with India. It takes us to the time when India was seeded in Jung's mind, long before the journey was envisaged. Jung's nascent links with India, his inquiries into Eastern culture, and the vast body of oriental texts that he studied are described. A large part of his exploration was fostered through the fellowship of friends who shared his interest in the Orient. These collegial relations, the forums where the East was discoursed, and the meetings that Jung had with Indians in distant Zürich, all helped him evolve his early impressions of the East. The oriental phenomenon in the West of the early 1900s stimulated Jung's interests in a critical way and this is addressed in detail.[1] These events and Jung's key psychological notions on the East underlie the relationship that he established with India long before the journey.

The third chapter throws open the circumstances that brought about the journey, chief among these being Jung's relations with the British and developments in Indian education and science. The setting of the Silver Jubilee Science Congress of 1938 and the events around which Jung's trip to India was conceived are described.[2] Jung would not have embarked on this tour had it not been for an invitation from the British government. The thrust of this chapter is in viewing the dovetail of coincidences that brought about Jung's invitation to visit India. It traces how Fowler McCormick entered the Jung-India story and all the minutiae that preceded the journey.

Once in India, Jung's itinerary was manifold. He traveled as a member of the official delegation, in the company of a large group of scientific stalwarts. This leg of the journey forms the theme of the fourth chapter. The celebratory tour, the events of the congress, the public functions and commemorations, Jung's itinerary, and the historic places he visited are all described. Some of Jung's personal experiences are gleaned from archival records. They tell us how Jung grappled with the complexities of an alien Eastern setting while traveling with a prominent scientific contingent and how he found himself at odds with many things in India—the scientific party, Hindu temple sites, and even the British whom he encountered in India.

The fifth chapter unfolds in Calcutta, the defining station of this narrative.

Calcutta was the venue of the historic Silver Jubilee Congress of 1938. Jung was thrown into a whirlpool of events here. He fell ill and, as a result, had to forego most of his official engagements. This and other contentious developments around the Silver Jubilee Science Congress changed Jung's orientation toward the journey. The intervening period of rest and retreat gave him time to collect himself, and as he convalesced, an extraordinary dream anchored him further. In Calcutta, toward the end of his stay, Jung experienced the colonial environs, met local Indians, and participated in private and public get-togethers. The rudiments of Indian science, the events of the congress, and the "storms" that it raised in him are described, along with the events following his rest and recuperation.

The sixth chapter picks up the thread of the journey after Calcutta. Jung decided to move away from official protocol and embark on his private exploration in the south of the subcontinent. After Calcutta, Jung traveled more or less incognito on a self-devised itinerary. His sole companion was Fowler McCormick, with whom he devised several memorable excursions into the heart of southern India. Jung's foray into southern India lends an altogether new flavor to the journey. He criss-crossed historic sites and acquainted himself with the ancient world of Hinduism. He met up with old friends and fulfilled a few official engagements. In the final leg of the journey, Jung ventured into Ceylon and travelled to Kandy. In Kandy, Ceylon, Jung encountered Buddhist religious rituals and ceremonies. Before leaving Ceylon, he returned to Colombo and engaged in some formal and informal interactions. After Ceylon, Jung retreated from India and travelled back to Switzerland via Aden and Marseille.

The seventh chapter moves away from the history of the 1930s and traces the developments that followed Jung's return from India. Jung took some time to recoup and review his experience; his perceptions about India changed significantly after this journey. While he continued to retain some of his old ties, new links emerged. There were those who had heard or met him in India who followed him to Zürich. There were others who recalled his visit and deliberated on his ideas from afar. These associations are few in number, but they reveal how India responded to Jung and how Jung himself looked at India in a different light after his return. A great deal of ambivalence lingered about him in India. The memory of his visit faded gradually, and with the passage of time, little remained of his brief and eventful sojourn in India.

The last chapter of the book captures the historical significance of the

journey and what this passage meant for Jung essentially. An ancient legend brings to light the significance of cultural crossings, and we look at Jung's historic passage in light of this legend. The conclusion deals with the journey in its literal and symbolic sense. While the actual expedition takes us through the diverse geographical landscapes of India, the cultural and psychological realms that it touches are more subtle and veiled. Some of Jung's fundamental conceptions of the psyche are revisited to understand what he underwent in spirit in undertaking this journey.

The first appendix takes the reader through the archival records that portray Jung's formal engagements in India. These are reports of his talks and lectures, interviews, and descriptions of the public functions and official engagements that he participated in. Records of Jung's later links with India are also included here. The second appendix offers accounts of Jung in close, personal settings. These testimonies give us glimpses of the subjective and personal side of Jung's tour, set against the backdrop of the colonial era. They describe Jung's private experiences, conversations, and interviews. There are images of India in the 1930s, the people Jung met, the places he visited or stayed in, and the mementoes he collected during his journey.

The narrative is not all-encompassing. There are those whom Jung knew or met and experiences that he had that are as yet unknown. This book is perhaps the closest approximation of Jung's history in India and will hopefully widen our engagement with the theme and foster a deeper understanding of Jung's influence from and on other cultures and peoples.

Sulagna Sengupta
Bangalore
March 2013

NOTES

[1] The Orient, oriental, and Orientalism are terms that are used interchangeably in this narrative. The Orient has been defined as the East and cultures belonging to the East. In the late nineteenth century this included India, China, Japan, and adjoining countries. The British referred to India as the Orient. The term comes from the Latin *oriens*, meaning East.

[2] The Silver Jubilee Science Congress is referred to variously as the Science Congress, the Indian Science Congress, and the Twenty-Fifth Joint

Science Congress.

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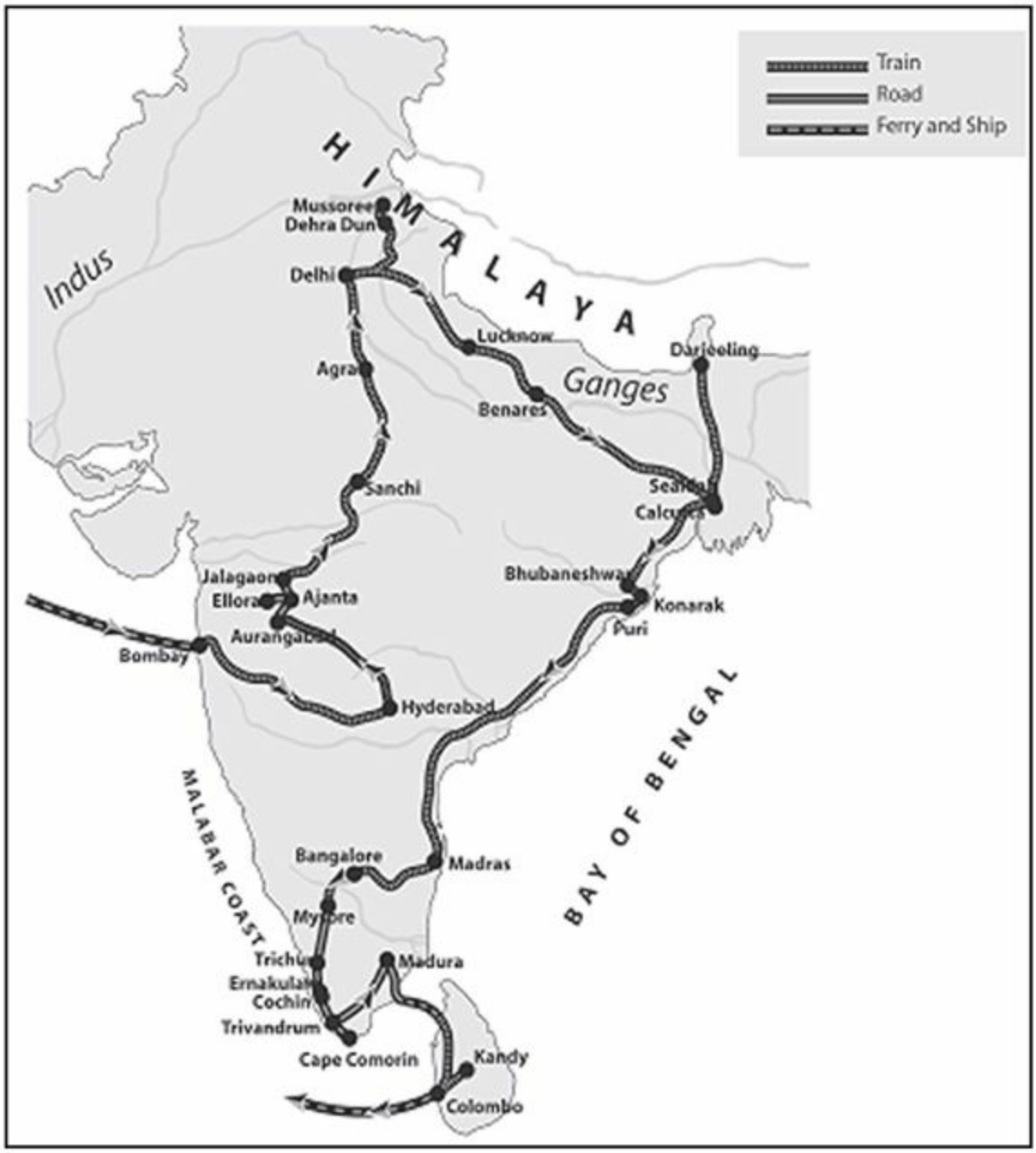
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Finally, my deepest gratitude for my family, especially for my husband and son, who have supported and nourished my work always and who together make my everyday life so rich and vital.

ITINERARY


Train
Road
Ferry and Ship
HIMALAYA
Indus
Ganges
Mussoree
Dehra Dun
Delhi
Lucknow
Darjeeling
Agra
Benares
Sanchi
Jalagaon
Ellora
Ajanta
Aurangabad
Bombay
Bhubaneshwar
Konarak
Puri
Hyderabad
MALABAR COAST
BAY OF BENGAL
Bangalore
Madras
Mysore
Trichur
Madura
Ernakulam
Cochin
Trivandrum
Cape Comorin
Kandy
Colombo

Jung's Itinerary December 17, 1937, to February 2, 1938

December	17	Arrival in Bombay by P & O Cathay. Welcome celebrations. Overnight stay.
	18	Departure in the afternoon for Hyderabad on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.
	19	Reach Hyderabad in the morning. Celebratory functions. Departure at night for Aurangabad on a narrow-gauge train.
	20	Reach Aurangabad. Visit Ellora, Kailash temple, and Daulatabad in the morning. Night halt at Aurangabad.
	21	Travel to Ajantha by road. Proceed to Jalgaon to board the broad-gauge train of Peninsula Rail.
	22	Halt at Sanchi, Bhopal. Reach Agra in the evening. Visit the Taj Mahal.
	23	Morning visit to Taj Mahal, Agra Fort, Fatehpur Sikri, and the monuments of Akbar, Shah Jahan, and Aurangazeb. Proceed to Delhi in the evening.
	24	Arrival in Delhi. Welcome functions and sightseeing.
	25	Qutub Minar, Delhi Fort, Shah Jahan's palace. Attend social events. Departure to Dehradun at night by train.
	26	Reach Dehradun, visit Forestry Research Institute. Road trip to Mussoorie. First view of Himalayas. Departure by night.
	27	Reach Benares in the afternoon. Visit Sarnath.
	28	Boat trip on the Ganges overlooking the ghats. Afternoon convocation of the Banaras Hindu University. Departure by night.
	29	Reach Calcutta in the afternoon. Halt at Sealdah station. Proceed to Siliguri.
	30-31	Reach Siliguri. Travel by road to Darjeeling.
January	1	Stay in Darjeeling at Hotel Mount Everest. View Kanchenjunga and meet Rimpoche Lingdam Gomchem. Jung contracts intestinal infection on returning to Siliguri.
	2	Reach Calcutta.
	3-8	Visit Belur Math. Jung is admitted to Presidency General Hospital for six days.
	9	Jung's lecture at Calcutta University. Farewell party at University of Calcutta. Departure of British scientific delegation to Madras.
	11	Jung's second lecture at Ashutosh College, University of Calcutta.
	13	Departure to Orissa by train.
	13-17	Orissa. Travel to Jagannath Temple, Konarak Sun Temple by road. Proceed to Madras by train.
	18-19	Madras. Hotel Connemara. Travel by road to Mahabalipuram and temple of Tirukalukundram.
	20	Travel to Mysore by car.
	21-22	Mysore. Meeting with Subramanya Iyer, stay at the summer palace of the maharaja.
	23	Trichur by road.
	24	Cochin harbor, Willingdon Island, Malabar Hotel.
	25	Trivandrum by road. Jung's lectures at the University of Travancore. Stay at Trivandrum.
	28	Proceed to Madura by road. Exit India from Bow's End near Rameshwaram by ferry.
	29	Colombo, Ceylon.
	30	Train journey to Kandy.
February	1	Return to Colombo. Jung's talk at Rotherfield Society.
	2	Sail homeward on the S.S. Corfu.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Our unconscious mind, like our body, is a storehouse of relics and memories of the past.
>
> —Carl Jung, *The Tavistock Lectures,* 1935

The Beginnings

At the Tavistock lectures of 1935, noted Swiss psychologist Carl Jung spoke of the "unconscious" as a fundamental conception of psychology.[1] The unconscious processes are not directly observable, he said, but can be assumed from their peculiar outcomes. The first part of this he called the "personal unconscious," the contents of which are of a personal origin and make up the personality as a whole. About the second, Jung said,

> then there is another class of contents of definitely unknown origin, or at all events of an origin which cannot be ascribed to individual acquisition. These contents have one outstanding peculiarity and that is their mythological character. It is as if they belong to a pattern not peculiar to any particular mind or person, but rather to a pattern peculiar to mankind in general. . . . They belong to mankind in general, and therefore they are collective in nature.[2]He spoke of these collective patterns as "archetypes" and elucidated them by giving empirical instances.

The audience was a discerning British psychoanalytic group, well versed in Freud's tenets of the unconscious, but not as familiar with Jung's notion of the collective unconscious.[3] Some quick rejoinders and hasty rebuffs followed before the listeners tuned in to Jung's views. The lectures left a lasting impact, establishing Jung's authority on the subject. "The deepest we can reach in our exploration of the unconscious mind is the layer where man

is no longer a distinct individual but where his mind widens out and merges into the mind of mankind, where we are all the same," he said.[4] Hinting at the dangers of identifying too closely with this layer, Jung affirmed that several peculiar coincidences of Nature could be traced to the collective unconscious.

The Tavistock colloquium was perhaps Jung's most inspiring disquisition on the collective unconscious ever. At the close of the decade, he was on his way to India to receive ceremonial honors from the British (Indian) government, where he would encounter a culture vastly alien to his own. It is possible that what he elucidated at Tavistock resonated vividly in his experiences in India, for the distant and alien world of the East was not entirely unfamiliar to Jung. Much transpired during that journey, but Jung chose to let go of the minutiae of his experience, penning only some highlights of the tour. For a long time these served as the principal aide-mémoire of his historic visit. What Jung may have considered insignificant about his experience at the time, or perhaps difficult to contend with, turned out to be de rigueur, provoking my search for him seventy-five years later and culminating in this historical account of Jung in India.

Jung's contribution to modern psychology has been acknowledged widely, and his works have witnessed a fresh resurgence in recent years. The publication of the Red Book, the onset of Jungian studies in the Far East, and the circulation of his little-known seminar notes are salutary moves. But in all of that, the story of Carl Jung and India is not to be found. Among Jung's broad reminiscences of India and distant reflections on Eastern religious philosophy, the particulars of his journey of 1937–1938 are conspicuously missing. Jung penned a few essays on India, but these do not give a full account of his celebrated tour. It is true that his writings are dotted with references to India; they offer some illuminating insights on the East, but they do not shed light on the history of his relations with India. There are no visible traces of his presence in India in the dominant chronicles of that period. It seems that a significant record concerning his visit has been lost and has remained untraced for decades. Not having access to that history is discomfiting, especially for those of us deliberating on Jung's ideas in the East and inquiring into the relevance of his psychology in the Eastern world. While this could have been the raison d'être for this study, it alone could not have ensured the fulfillment of such an impossible task—impossible because there are no known historical records of Jung's journey to India and Jung himself did not archive a full account of his tour for later use. The idea of

tracing an obsolete event that had no historical corroboration was therefore far-fetched. It is not surprising then that a stream of unlikely coincidences stimulated the inquiry and set it rolling. Random searches in colonial records showed glimpses of Jung's journey, but these were few in number and haphazardly strewn. A more resolute probe led to a surge of discoveries, so many in number that I was compelled to consider this as something significant and not just a handful of unrelated coincidences.

Several persons had in fact recorded information about Jung's presence on the subcontinent. The last surviving man in India who had met Jung in 1937 was a retired German bureaucrat whose memoir of Jung I found a week after this study was conceived.[5] He was ailing and inaccessible, but fortunately his little-known chronicle containing information on Jung could be sourced from a local bookseller. An offbeat write-up in a Sri Lankan journal referred to a Ceylonese physician who had met Jung in 1938. Tracing his son, a retired psychiatric professional based in Washington, D.C., was a stroke of luck: a prominent Sri Lankan educator had published a memoir of her parents in which this good doctor's name was mentioned. A letter to Colombo and a midnight call to Bethesda, Maryland, and Jung's story was on track. The octogenarian doctor sent me a carefully preserved report, more than seventy-five years old, of his father's meeting with Jung. It was this archival report that triggered Jung's story in India. He introduced me to a Sri Lankan scholar, who found traces of Jung's presence in Colombo and generously passed that information to me. We will examine these stories as we read ahead.

Two in-depth accounts of Jung's itinerary in India surfaced from colonial records of that period. A large part of the journey was mapped in these accounts, showing Jung as part of a historic scientific delegation in India. An entire slice of colonial history that made up the elusive backdrop of Jung's travel was unlocked. The records revealed that the journey, undertaken in the midst of such an extraordinary scientific gathering, was far from uneventful. Yet Jung had made only oblique references to this in his writings.

With the big picture traced, my concerns turned to the personal. What were Jung's experiences during his tour? As I rummaged through stacks of colonial literature, a biography of an eminent couple surfaced. They had known Jung for several decades and were an important link for him in Calcutta. Their names were included in Jung's voluminous list of correspondents. Information of others whom Jung had met emerged

consequently. Following these clues, I reached Pondicherry in search of a private interview that Jung had granted in Calcutta in 1938. The custodian of this information had preserved a cache of her father's writings, himself a scholar of psychology of the colonial era. He had participated in the historic Science Congress of 1938 and had interviewed Jung privately. Only a snippet of this meeting could be found (the actual notes were lost), and as I deliberated with his daughter, an elderly scholar in Auroville, on the possible contents of that interview and her father's links with Jung, she provided me copies of his writings and directed my attention to a psychiatrist living in the Sri Aurobindo Ashram who had known her father. This gentleman opened up a cornucopia of information on Calcutta and told me of an aging scholar in the ashram who had heard Jung's lecture in Calcutta in 1938 and had later met him in Zürich. From him, I received an important nugget of information about Jung's later links in India.

Because of the heap of information that emerged from its archives and repositories, Calcutta became the most critical location of this study. It was the midpoint of my research, as it had been decades ago the midpoint in Jung's journey. While the young doctor's claim that Jung had been associated with setting up the Applied Psychology wing at Calcutta University was not true, his references led me to the University Science College, the erstwhile residence of Girindrasekhar Bose, and the curious story of Jung's sojourn in Calcutta.[6] Knowing that all traces of Jung's historic visit and commemoration had been erased from the precincts of this imperial city was a disheartening experience for me. Something unusual seemed to have transpired here, but I had no clue then what that could be.

Meanwhile, the chain of coincidences continued. During the research, I visited the hospital in Calcutta where Jung had been confined during his sickness. I knew it well not only because it was a colonial landmark but also because it was where I had been born. Girindrasekhar Bose's handiwork, Lumbini Park Mental Hospital, a flagpole of colonial psychiatry, came up as another familiar name. Bose had been a significant presence in 1938 at the Science Congress gathering where Jung was commemorated. The reminiscences of a nonagenarian psychiatrist who had been Bose's student at Calcutta University and had worked as his apprentice at Lumbini Park Mental Hospital brought back vestiges of the colonial era and memories of an old family saga. I found many antiquated volumes of British history in the deserted archives of Calcutta that offered stirring accounts of that period.

When I searched for reports of Jung's forgotten lectures, delivered at the celebrated congressional gatherings, I found them not in Calcutta but stashed away in the secluded alcoves of another imperial city, New Delhi. One of these lectures had been delivered at a college founded under the British, a colonial edifice and my mother's alma mater. The mystifying chain of coincidences left me infused with the spirit of that era. In every way, the ancestral links that surfaced reinforced the quintessence of this work, a story of inheritance and origins.

Synchronicity—Personal and Objective Factors

While the chain of coincidences played a defining role in fomenting the study, painstaking groundwork accompanied the actual research. Nothing came easily, even if it appeared to surface out of nowhere and with miraculous timing. A host of unrelated names had come up during the research; none of these individuals had any links with me. None among them had any close ties with Jung's work either. The element of coincidence was therefore striking. Every person who entered the picture brought new information about Jung in India or led me to other pointers. The psychiatrists from Bethesda and Auroville, the expatriate German, the Swiss artist, the elderly scholar in Auroville who wrote about her father's meeting with Jung, the biographer of Boshi Sen, and the monks of Ramakrishna Ashram had with them historical information about Jung's journey in India, but none of them were connected to Jung in a critical way. Their names had surfaced within a span of a few months, in succession, precisely when the inner queries were being framed. The apparently disjointed and scattered bits of data seemed to hold an underlying thread, the significance of which was not clear to me at first. What was evident was that the coincidences had aligned the personal and objective histories and helped bring Jung's story to light.

Jung came across the phenomenon of meaningful coincidences early on in his life.[7] During the vital years of his youth, he had encountered peculiar happenings at his parental home, for which he had found no convincing explanations. This had led him to study synchronicity. In his seminal paper on the subject, "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle," he said:

> The problem of synchronicity has puzzled me for a long time, ever since the middle twenties when I was investigating the phenomena of the collective unconscious and kept on coming across connections which I simply could not explain as chance groupings or "runs." What I

> found were “coincidences” which were connected so meaningfully that their “chance” concurrence would represent a degree of improbability that would have to be expressed by an astronomical figure.[8]

Jung pointed out that synchronicity had been addressed before by philosophers such as Kant and Schopenhauer and emphasized the difference between synchronism and synchronicity. The occurrence of two or more causally unrelated events meaningfully connected is different from a merely simultaneous occurrence of two events. He said that while some thought that chance coincidences were a result of “mutual attraction of related objects,” for him the key issue was finding the psychological factors underlying the incidents.[9] This led Jung to examine the conditions that give rise to synchronicity, and he deduced from his observations that “synchronistic events rest on the *simultaneous occurrence of two different psychic states*. One of them is the normal, probable state (i.e., the one that is causally explicable), and the other, the critical experience, is the one that cannot be derived causally from the first.”[10]

In an objective sense, any inquiry into Jung’s history in India could be considered normal given Jung’s interest in Eastern culture and philosophy. Tentative investigations have in fact been made, but no critical information about him or his links with India surfaced in these inquiries. The spate of information that emerged now was not only new in content but also linked with my ancestral history in colonial India. The tacit convergence of the personal and objective histories, the overlap of historical and psychological trajectories, and the coincidences that sparked off the inquiry demonstrate the arbitrary and fortuitous nature of synchronistic phenomena. The story of Jung in India was revelatory in many ways, and nothing like what I might have imagined it to be.

As a psychologist, Jung was interested in the inner conditions that bring about synchronistic events. In a letter to J. R. Smythies, he deliberated that “a specific psychic condition, namely a certain emotional mood called interest, expectation, hope, belief, etc., or an emotional objective situation like death, illness, or other ‘numinous’ conditions” in an individual led to the eruption of synchronistic events.[11] He was quick to point out, however, that as a phenomenon of the collective unconscious, arising from an objective realm, synchronistic events signify more than personal truths. To J. B. Rhine he wrote:

> The main difficulty with synchronicity (and also with ESP) is that one thinks of it as being produced by the subject, while I think it is rather in the nature of objective events. Although ESP is a gift of certain individuals and seems to depend upon an emotional perception, the picture it produces is that of an objective fact.[12]

Thus, even if a personal "interest, a hope, or a belief " triggered the search, its objective significance seemed to far outweigh the personal concerns. It is pertinent to note that the key archival testimonies for this study were not Jung's own writings but colonial documents, official records, journals, and biographies of people who had links with Jung many decades ago. The authors of these documents may have played a role in shaping Jung's Indian sojourn, but their links with him had faded with time, and they had little to do with his work per se. The links were remote, and yet in some way close and familiar. Close because many of these individuals belonged to fields that were once at the core of Jung's psychological work. And even if the history was old and bygone, my associations with that period were deep-rooted. For instance, I could visualize the Calcutta of the thirties because I had heard stories of that era from my family since childhood. The study became more germane to me when those associations were evoked. The personal shaped the objective history, too, for Jung's story in India can be interpreted in many ways. In describing the synchronicity of events leading to the study, the compatibility and correlation between the personal and objective factors are significant and well worth considering.

The underlying principle of meaningful coincidences, Jung said, evolved from *acausal orderedness*, a precept of Taoism, where a universal order in nature is believed to preexist.[13] The inherent connectedness in nature is not ordinarily perceptible but becomes evident when things fall into place and are in harmony with each other. All of nature is rooted in its own continuum and causality, and when this order is restored, outer and inner worlds synchronize, and meaningful coincidences occur. Jung often cited the story of the rainmaker of Kiau Tschou, which he first heard from Richard Wilhelm.[14] According to this story, a Chinese village had faced a severe drought for months. When everything had failed to bring rain, the villagers brought a rainmaker from the neighboring village. The old man locked himself inside a quiet house away from the village for three days. On the fourth day, the clouds gathered and a snowstorm followed. When Wilhelm asked the old man how he had brought the rain, the old man replied that he had done nothing to make the rain come but had felt that things were out of order in

this village, and so he had waited for three days inside the house to get back in Tao. Even he had not felt in harmony with himself after he had entered the village. Explaining this Taoist philosophical principle, where in all impalpable and incommensurable things there is a latent "rationality," Jung said that "this is the basic idea underlying meaningful coincidence . . . Where meaning prevails, order results."[15]

Jung's conception of synchronicity was explored by renowned physicist Wolfgang Pauli and analysts such as Michael Fordham, Marie-Louise von Franz, and parapsychologist J. B. Rhine, among others. Von Franz, one of Jung's foremost students, noted that:

> the most essential and certainly the most impressive thing about synchronistic occurrences, the thing which really constitutes their numinosity, is the fact that in them the duality of soul and matter seems to be eliminated. They are therefore an empirical indication of an ultimate unity of all existence, which Jung, using the terminology of medieval natural philosophy, called the *unus mundus*.[16]

The universal harmony and connectedness in nature, Jung hypothesized, sprung from the deepest layer of the psyche. The underlying unity in matter renders a peculiar cohesion to life and gives it a mythological or archetypal character. The truth may well be that meaningful coincidences constellate in resonance to this innate connectedness in nature. In the Tavistock lectures of 1935, Jung had said that the collective unconscious was a layer of the psyche where all personal distinctions faded and mankind became one. Jung's remarkable connection with the tenets of Taoism and Eastern spiritual philosophies from the far-flung precincts of Western science and religion sprung from this underlying unity in nature and mankind. Indeed, the unlikely incidence of a fragment of Jung's history being unearthed in the distant environs of the East, where there are no prominent Jungian hubs or archives to speak of, shows the vital and deep-seated character of synchronistic phenomena.

The Significance of Jung's History in India

While the collective unconscious may be the underlying factor that put Jung in touch with the East, the actual trajectory of his relationship with India was far more complex. It is pertinent to dwell on that history to understand how India shaped Jung's perceptions of the East and how that history determined some of his key psychological insights. The story of Jung's

forgotten journey calls for a look into the Eastern world that Jung encountered, a world which he was alien to and yet, in many ways, intimate with. In revisiting his experience of India, our understanding about our histories and psyches expand, but exactly how we cannot know until we journey into that world ourselves. This necessitates a narration not only of the actual journey of 1937–38 that Jung made, but of the links with India that he nurtured from Zürich before his journey and the links that he held with India after his return. Journeys across cultures are typically harbingers of change. Legendary Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsang and Fa Hien traveled through the Indian subcontinent and returned to their lands carrying priceless Buddhist tablets that spawned spiritual and religious transformations in the Far East. Their journeys catalyzed epochal cultural revivals in their own lands. Jung's journey into India was neither as far-reaching nor as revolutionary. Its quiet unostentatious spirit enclosed complex cultural concerns, and the actual journey brought him several uncomfortable moments. In short, it was far from celebratory.

Yet, even if it was not as dramatic or triumphant as many other celebrated passages of history, it was intricate and revelatory. This is primarily due to the fact that the dynamic, scientific temper of Western psychology that Jung personified was juxtaposed against a multifaceted, heterogeneous Eastern culture that he engaged with, a culture that had no known psychological trajectory comparable to Jung's. The events that sprung from that encounter and the insights that transpired from that interaction are therefore not insignificant, either for Jung or for India. Furthermore, the findings of this inquiry reveal that Jung and India, as much as they were dissimilar, shared a vital relationship spanning many decades. The origins and evolution of this relationship have not been examined at length, even though Jung's psychology has been steadily gaining recognition in the Eastern sphere. Jung had many contentious views on India; these were shaped from his actual experience of the journey. The journey also influenced his psychological insights in significant ways and helped him appraise his own culture meaningfully. Its history merits a wider cognizance and appreciation.

For India, Jung represents a dynamic, Western psychological viewpoint that has no known parallel in its own history. The significance of the occasion did not register fully with those who met Jung in India at the time. The fact that Jung's psychological premises combine elements of Western empirical science, as well as ideas inspired by the philosophies of the East,

was not fully understood by all. While Jung's psychology was embedded in rational and empirical principles, it expanded spontaneously into the realms of religion and spirituality when it came to defining psychological goals. Jung's impassioned adherence to scientific methods notwithstanding, he was intensely concerned with questions of the spirit. He leaned on Eastern religious tenets because the West's estrangement with its own religious and cultural history and its one-sided preoccupation with science had left a lacuna in its religious ethos and cultural tradition. This had, for centuries, prompted Western scholars to pursue the philosophies of the East. Jung found that the religious tenets of the East corresponded with his psychological conceptions. He was perhaps the first Western psychologist to correlate the East and West in this way. In India, these philosophical tenets were a subject of metaphysical speculation rather than rigorous empirical investigation. Jung's leanings toward the East were welcomed in India, but his psychological notions were not accepted or acknowledged with equal enthusiasm there. The central motif of Jung's history in India is this dialectic, the dynamics that surrounded his visit, and the impressions Jung gathered about India through these experiences.

For the contemporary Jungian and historian, the story is interesting from several angles. First, it is a narration of an event that has long been forgotten, a history that throws new light on Jung and India. Second, the story has been investigated in an Eastern milieu, and the key locales and characters are Indian, distinct from Jung's own European world. What follows from such a deliberation are not just glimpses of Jung in an alien setting but the worlds of East and West in interaction with each other in a unique historical situation. Third, the journey allows us to reappraise the colonial world through Jung's perceptions of it, bringing psychological nuances into a historical narrative and tracing the complex interface between psyche, history, and culture.

The Archival and Literary Sources

The core thrust of the research is an examination of extant historical records pertaining to Jung in India. The records show that two seemingly different entities—Jung and India—who apparently had nothing in common shared close links with each other across several decades, charting a mutual trajectory. The recapitulation of that relationship is the primary objective of this study. No systematic information about Jung's links in India has been

uncovered before this, and little is known even today about the events leading to or surrounding his visit. The only known records are Jung's own select reminiscences written after his return from his voyage. These are found in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* recorded and edited by Aniela Jaffé, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, in particular volumes 4, 5, 6, 8, 9i, 9ii, 10, 11, 15, and 18, and Jung's letters, in two volumes selected and edited by Gerhard Adler and Aniela Jaffé. But unfortunately, these sources do not have adequate information on Jung and India. How did Jung's invitation to India emerge? For how long did he travel and what was his itinerary? Whom did he meet and what were his official and unofficial engagements? None of this can be traced from Jung's writings.

It is widely known that Jung's seminal conception of individuation or psychological wholeness corresponds with the Eastern goal of enlightenment. Jung's writings make several allusions to India in this regard, but they say nothing substantive about his journey. He traveled for more than two months in India and Ceylon and participated in several formal and informal engagements. He nurtured links with India before his journey and continued to engage with Indians after his return. It is true that he had no compelling need to recount this history, but a deliberate distancing from it has left us with the impression that beyond what Jung himself spoke or wrote about, there was nothing significant about his journey to India.[17]

Some attempts have been made to bridge these awkward gaps. *Jung on the East,* edited and with an introduction by J. J. Clarke, presents the gamut of Jung's writings on the East in a single volume. The introduction offers a critical perspective, and Jung's views are examined on the basis of his writings. Jung's understanding of the East was derived to a large extent from his experience of India during the journey and his links with India over many decades. The colonial environment of India contributed significantly toward shaping his views. The exclusion of that history limits Clarke's analysis in a critical way.

Harold G. Coward's *Jung and Eastern Thought* gives a comprehensive analysis of Jung's thoughts on Eastern religious tenets. It elaborates Jung's reading of the Yoga tenets and underpins the fact that Jung differentiated his scientific attitude from the metaphysical outlook of Eastern philosophy. This book offers some tentative insights and parallels between Jung's psychology and Yoga philosophy. It goeswithout saying that a description of Jung's actual experiences in India would have augmented the analysis well.

In contrast, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga—Notes of the Seminar Given in 1932 by C. G. Jung* outlines the historical backdrop of Jung's discussion of the *yogasutras*. The editor, Sonu Shamdasani, provides the background of the seminars and attempts to locate Jung's thoughts within a historical framework. Although this is an important testimony of Jung's understanding of Eastern spiritual tenets, this book is not an account of Jung and India.

Numerous biographies of Jung describe his impressions of India.[18] However, no independent and accurate historical research accompanies these writings. Barbara Hannah's account is based explicitly on her interaction with Jung. It amplifies Jung's impressions but does not offer additional information about Jung and India. In contrast, Deirdre Bair's biography refers to Jung's protocols and oral histories with reference to India but provides no meaningful insight on Jung's Indian journey. Ronald Hayman's description of Jung in India is based on Jung's own writings. These life histories fall short in enriching us with new information about Jung and India.

Which brings us to the thrust of this inquiry—the reason why the story had to be traced from unconventional sources. In the absence of concrete information on Jung in India, the restitution of Jung's story had to be done from extant archival records, oral testimonies, out-of-print memoirs, and other rare chronicles. For example, the colonial literature accessed for establishing the context of Jung's journey contained very few direct references to Jung but had much about the Science Congress of 1938 and the cultural and social history of that period, which illumined the backdrop of Jung's journey and brought out its historical significance.

The core archival information came from diverse sources and was woven together to re-create the actual scenario of the 1930s. The findings show that Jung immersed himself wholeheartedly in the Indian surroundings and had several memorable encounters during his stay. His penchant for exploring religion and culture was to be expected. That he remained alive to the everyday events of his journey, borne out by the fascinating testimonies of those who met him then, is a revelation. He may have been flummoxed by the bewildering array of scenes that he witnessed or perplexed by the incongruities of what he saw, but that he encountered a great deal is certain.

The critical information presented in this book has been retrieved from repositories in India and is essentially new in content. With regard to the information that came from outside India, it is pertinent to mention that even

though Jung thought it redundant to publish the particulars of his journey, he carefully preserved the mementos that he carried from India and secured them in the archives at ETH Zürich. These souvenirs—his travel documents, keepsakes, maps, invitations, and visiting cards—could not be acquired from ETH Zürich due to logistical reasons. A key slice of information came from Jung's family in Zürich, which helped in reconfirming his itinerary in India and his extensive readings on the Orient. Fortunately, with the help of a rich cache of data found in different corners of India, it was possible to reconstruct the story, combining elements of the distant and the near, merging trivial details with critical data, interlacing personal chronicles with period history, and bridging the inscrutable gaps and creases that accompany such long-forgotten histories**.** It so happened that some of what Jung willingly set aside of his experiences was captured by those who met him in India at that time. Some of what was rendered unimportant found its place in history in the way it had to. And so the story wove itself from various shards and shreds, in an incredible patchwork motif, to form a whole. It is difficult to say what Jung envisaged when he preserved the records of his journey in the archives in Zürich. Perhaps he ruminated over the fact that histories are more real than anything else and entrenched in our lives in ineffaceable ways. "But who, if it comes to that, has fully realized that history is not contained in thick books but lives in our very own blood?"[19]

NOTES

[1] Jung gave a series of five lectures at the invitation of the Institute of Medical Psychology (Tavistock Clinic) from September 30 to October 4, 1935. These lectures were subsequently published by the Analytical Psychology Club of London in 1936. The version that is referred to here is from *The Symbolic Life*, vol. 18, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950).

[2] *Ibid*., § 79.

[3] The lectures were interjected by references to Freud's theories and comparisons between Freud's terminologies and Jung's. See the discussion following the second lecture.

[4] Jung, "The Tavistock Lectures," § 87.

[5] He was alive when I began the research in 2010, but he died a year later.

[6] Girindrasekhar Bose is the father of Indian psychology; see chapters 3 and 5, pp. 77–79 and 147–152.

[7] Jung talked about two incidences that occurred after his father's death, which could not be explained rationally. Jung was, at that time, on the verge of deciding on a career in psychiatry. Thereafter, he came across many chance coincidences that corresponded with decisive turning points in his life. See C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), pp. 84–113. The incidences are mentioned on pp. 104–107.

[8] C. G. Jung, "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle" (1952), in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, vol. 8, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), § 843.

[9] *Ibid*., § 831.

[10] *Ibid*., § 855.

[11] C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2, 1951–1961*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler and Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 46.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 181.

[13] Jung addressed this at length in "Foreword to the *I Ching*" (1950), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958).

[14] Richard Wilhelm had witnessed the event during his stay in China. See *The Earth Has a Soul: The Nature Writings of C .G. Jung*, edited by Meredith Sabini (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2002).

[15] Jung, "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle," § 922.

[16] Marie-Louise von Franz, *C. G. Jung: His Myth in Our Time* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1998), p. 247.

[17] Laurens van der Post has stated that Jung's journey to India seemed in retrospect "an irrelevant and redundant exercise." He alluded that India made no great impact on Jung (as compared to Africa) and perhaps gave him less than any country. See van der Post, *Jung and the Story of Our Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 51.

[18] See, for example, Barbara Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976); Ronald Hayman, *A Life of Jung* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); and Deirdre Bair, *Jung: A Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2003).

[19] C. G. Jung, “Woman in Europe” (1927), in *Civilisation in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), § 266.

CHAPTER 2

INDIA IN THE MIND OF CARL JUNG
BEFORE THE JOURNEY

> By an inevitable decree of fate the West is becoming acquainted with the peculiar facts of Eastern spirituality.
>
> —C. G. Jung, "Psychological Commentary on *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*"

India—1930s

The years were catalytic. Within the borders of a newly rising nation, ugly communal wrangles had surfaced. Gandhi had defied imperial diktat to launch the Salt March; civil disobedience had been proclaimed.[1] A gruesome riot erupted in Bombay, spurring combative communal sentiments. Away from all this, elsewhere in India, a new scientific spirit began to manifest. C. V. Raman received a Nobel Prize in Physics. Raman's former workplace and the country's erstwhile capital, Calcutta, loomed large over the cultural and scientific horizon of India.[2] An eclectic variety of innovations were engendered during that decade, many of them of enduring value. India's maiden commercial flight took off from Karachi, the first psychiatric clinic in Calcutta was founded, and radio broadcasting was institutionalized through AIR.[3]

Indigenous scientific acumen and indomitable nationalist spirit were not the only high points of the thirties. Spiritual philanthropy had come full circle from its humble beginnings in the previous century.[4] Monastic orders such as the Ramakrishna Mission and the ashrams of Sri Aurobindo and Ramana Maharshi had turned into spiritual havens of the East.[5] Fiery debates on Vedanta resonated from their grounds, as curious itinerants scoured the land,

exploring the Orient in newfangled ways.[6] The throb of cultural expression was as palpable as the call for freedom. Countrywide picketing broke out as reports spread about the tyranny of the British on innocent civilians. In the wake of civil disobedience, thousands were incarcerated on charges of sedition, revealing the sinister face of imperialism.[7] Rarely had a decade seen such a tumultuous wave of nationalist sentiment and such exciting scientific and cultural journeys in an environment fettered by the grim shackles of imperialism.

Despite the downsides of British rule, the East and West continued to be drawn together in the 1930s. This mingling of the two entities was curious, alternating between a dark defiance and a dim complicity. Centuries ago, the adventure to the East had unfolded with the British approaching the subcontinent in search of trade. Soon they had involved themselves in the territorial affairs of the locals. A hundred or more years of political hostility had transformed the face of this quaint hinterland into a thriving colonial dominion. The decade of the thirties brought an unexpected shift in this established hegemony. A worldwide economic slump and Hitler's dramatic rise to power jeopardized Britain's long-standing dominance in the West. The threat of an impending war and mounting insurgencies in the colonies heightened Britain's predicament, and the monarchy struggled to retain her foothold on her colonies.

The thirties bristled with a peculiar contrariness. Gandhi's valiant pleas of nonviolence were interjected by communal massacres on home soil. The nationalist cause was sometimes championed more righteously by outsiders than locals, and the imperial persona of a civilized British race more often than not displayed a barbaric and avaricious underside.[8] India's strident anti-imperialist propaganda was accompanied by exuberant social and intellectual communions with the British. Wedged between a glorious past and an embattled present, the nation was poised at the crossroads. The air was leaden with uncertainty and an uneasy calm prevailed when news of a special scientific convention surfaced. A distinguished pool of scientists was to gather at an annual scientific congress in India. Jung's name featured in the list of prospective attendees, and an unusual adventure between the East and West opened up then, unexpectedly, without any prelude whatsoever.

The 1930s were eventful for Jung and his experience of India. Almost everything of that period in India, its fiery nationalism, burgeoning science, and pristine spiritualism, touched Jung's journey. Something significant

transpired during his passage but little was recorded of it for posterity to look back upon. Jung's presence in India did not go unrecorded as such, but the significance of his visit was dimmed by the hubbub of the congressional gatherings. Not surprisingly therefore, information on Jung and his visit is hard to locate in the dominant chronicles of that period. The reinstated story of Jung in India, set against the backdrop of the thirties, is the first real historical affirmation of Jung's presence in the subcontinent and evidence of the long and vital relation that he shared with the East.

Carl Jung in 1937

The prominent events of the thirties can be found in the history of pre-independent India. Glimpses of a lesser history, no less enchanting, can be seen in curious narratives of that time, in the voices of people long gone, and in stories that we have ceased to recall. On a bleary winter afternoon in 1937 an extraordinary scientific delegation disembarked on the western shores of India. A bespectacled, burly man in his sixties, a member of this prestigious party, set foot upon India quietly, unobtrusively, encountering the East for the first time. This was Carl Jung on his maiden journey to India. Memories of this tour were penned by Jung later, but much of what he encountered was buried in the land where it happened.[9] Who was Carl Jung, and what was the history of his links with India? Why does it come alive now, decades after Jung returned from his journey to the subcontinent?

Born in 1875 in Kesswil, Switzerland, Carl Gustav Jung was the only son of a village parson, Paul Achilles Jung, and his wife, Emilie Preiswerk.[10] Jung's childhood was spent in a tiny village parish close to Basel on the shores of the Rhine. The simple pastoral character of his childhood years left an indelible impression on Jung. Young Carl graduated from Humanistisches Gymnasium in Basel and later from the University of Basel. Jung was intrigued by the world of dreams and drawn toward philosophy from early youth. He was also interested in zoology and the exact sciences. After much deliberation, he chose medicine for a career and decided to go into psychiatry, believing that the pursuit of sciences would slake his interest in philosophy.[11] Jung's temperament was scientific, offset by a desire for understanding the mystical. This duality in orientation is significant in understanding Jung's work. It characterized his disposition as a psychoanalyst and affirmed that mythology, history, philosophy, and the

religious precepts of distant cultures would play a definitive role in fomenting his psychological ideas. In a very fundamental way, Jung's spiritual thinking augmented his scientific work and inspired him to explore the truths extant in alien cultures and religions. It also sparked off his interest in India.[12]

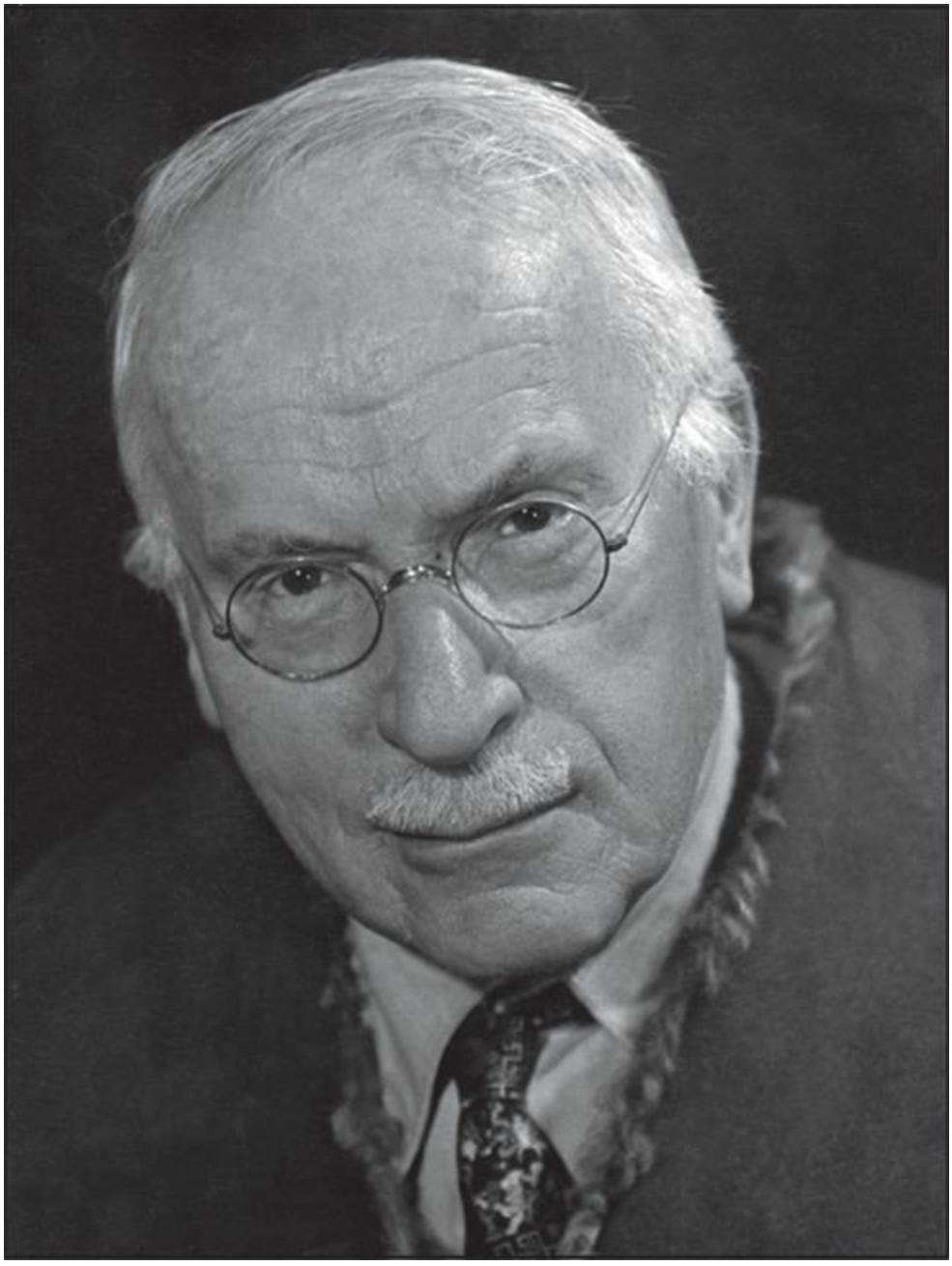


Figure 2.1: C. G. Jung. Credit: © INTERFOTO / Alamy.

When Jung completed his medical studies in 1902, he went to Paris, then a growing hub for psychiatry, and attended the lectures of Pierre Janet at

Collège de France. Soon he was introduced to Sigmund Freud. Jung's early inspirations in psychology were Josef Breuer, Janet, and Freud.[13] He found Freud's theory of repression important because he had encountered repression in his mental patients while conducting word association tests in Burghölzli.[14] Prior to meeting Freud in 1907, Jung sent him a copy of his diagnostic researches.[15] This triggered their very first correspondence. Freud read Jung's *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox* (1907) and invited him to Vienna. Their first meeting lasted a dramatic thirteen hours and progressed to a close friendship. They toured America together, participated in psychology congresses, and shared each other's dreams. But despite this camaraderie and Freud's occasional affirmation that Jung would be his successor, there were fundamental differences between them. The relationship foundered in 1913 when Jung published *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, taking his ideas beyond Freud's tenets of psychoanalysis.[16] In the final fray, it transpired that Freud refused to accept Jung's unorthodox ideas, and Jung would not surrender to Freud's dogmatism.[17]

This history is important to recall because Jung and Freud's rift was dredged up for decades afterward, leaving behind a trail of controversies. After the split, Jung found himself alone, abandoned by friends and isolated from mainstream psychoanalysis. He resigned from the International Psychoanalytic Association and from Zürich University, where he had been teaching since 1905, and plunged headlong into the task of exploring the contents of his unconscious. Between 1914 and 1919, Jung experienced a hiatus, which transpired to be his "confrontations with his unconscious."[18] "The Structure of the Unconscious" (1916), "The Transcendent Function" (1916), and *Psychological Types* (1921) emerged from his explorations of this period.[19]

From the 1920s onward, Jung's work grew unimpeded. He traveled within and outside Europe, lecturing and writing, while administering a full-fledged analytical practice in Zürich. He journeyed to Africa, South America, Greece, and Rome, exploring alien cultures and people. He began constructing his legendary retreat at Bollingen, near the shores of Lake Lucerne. By the early thirties, Jung had extended the frontiers of Western dynamic psychiatry to study alchemy, *I Ching*, Kundalini Yoga, and religious symbolism. He had begun speaking on various aspects of Eastern philosophy and religion, but in the process, he had garnered cynicism from the

mainstream psychoanalytic fraternity for breaching traditional boundaries of psychoanalysis.[20] Despite this flak, Jung continued to advocate his ideas on the collective unconscious, emphasizing that man's innate religious instinct could no longer be ignored in understanding his overall psychic development. His professional calendar toward the latter half of the decade was replete with engagements—lectures at Tavistock, Harvard, and Yale, numerous writing commitments, and long hours of analysis with his patients in Zürich.

This was Carl Jung, the distinguished Swiss psychoanalyst, torchbearer of a new science and founder of analytical psychology, when India first encountered him on that wintry afternoon of 1937. Nothing could have been further removed from India than Jung's innate scientific temper and unique psychological notions. It was an unusual moment in the trajectories of East and West. Rarely before had India, poised at such a momentous turn of its history, encountered a figure as distinct and remarkable as Jung's. Despite the significance of the moment, and the long history of his links with India, the story of Jung and India has never surfaced comprehensively in any Jungian discourse, making it inevitable somehow for it to be recalled now, decades later.

Orbis Pictus

The distant orb of the East was in fact not unfamiliar to Jung. The East for him denoted the ancient Indian and Chinese civilizations, especially Hindu and Buddhist cultures. Jung's mature explorations were rooted in assiduous reading of Eastern philosophical texts, but his foremost impression of India came from a little-known children's picture book. As early as 1880, when Jung was not yet six years old, he was shown the illustrated *Orbis Pictus* (a popular children's compendium).[21] Jung later wrote, in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*: "There were illustrations of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva which I found an inexhaustible source of interest."[22] The *Orbis Pictus* is the earliest prototype of an encyclopedia, originally published in Latin by John Amos Comenius in 1657. The founding principle of the *Orbis Pictus* states: "Nihil est in intellectu, quod prius non fuerit in sensu" ["Nothing is in the understanding that was not first in the senses"], a precept universally adopted for children's education worldwide. Jung's own approach to understanding the psyche was based on experiencing it firsthand. One of the illustrations in

the book says: “The Indians, even to this day, worship the Devil.”[23] It is not known if Jung had seen this, but the idea of the devil (corresponding to evil) and its representation in Hindu iconography was an important realization for him during his Indian sojourn.

Ex Libris—Indian Literature in Jung’s Library

Jung’s early readings on the East were stimulated by the writings of Schopenhauer and Kant which he found in his father’s modest library.[24] His father, Pastor Paul Jung, was a theologian and philologist, proficient in oriental languages and a master of Arabic. One of Jung’s forefathers was a doctor and professor at the University of Basel. Jung himself had an inclination toward science, philosophy, and Semitic languages.[25] Arthur Schopenhauer’s *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* [*The World as Will and Representation*], left a marked impression on his mind. Schopenhauer’s treatises on epistemology, ethics, and aesthetics refer to the Upanishads and Vedanta. Jung recounted how significant the Upanishads had been for the West since the first Latin translation made by Frenchman Abraham Anquetil-Duperron.[26] Thus Jung’s early explorations in Western philosophy coincided with his first readings on India.

It was *The Upanishads,* by Max Müller, and Müller’s *Vorlesungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der Religion* that occupied Jung’s library in due course. *Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Indiens,* by Karl J. Trübner, and *The Vedânta-Sûtras with a Commentary by Sankarâkârya* [*The Sacred Books of the East*], were some of the earliest titles on the East that Jung procured. In 1912, Jung cited from the Upanishads and the Rig Veda in his book *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* [*Transformation and Symbols of the Libido*].[27]

According to Henri F. Ellenberger, Jung’s intellectual influences from the East are indistinct. “It is difficult to ascertain what in Asiatic literature served as a source of stimulus for Jung’s thinking.”[28] This view can be altered now, as a vast reserve of oriental literature found in Jung’s library throws light on his eclectic intellectual inspirations from the East, while his writings, extensively annotated, refer to Eastern literature in abundance.[29] Jung’s readings in art, mythology, religion, and spirituality demonstrate his familiarity with the East long before he even wrote about or traveled to India.

James Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ*, A. Smith Vincent's *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, and *Visvakarma: Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft*, found in Jung's library, are indications of his scholarly inquiries.[30]

On mythology and culture, apart from James Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* and Martin E. Osborn Rhys's *The Gods of India*, Jung read William Francklin's *Researches on the Tenets and Doctrines of the Jeynes and Boodhists, Conjectured to be the Brahmanes of Ancient India*, Edwin Arnold's *The Song Celestial or Bhagavad-Gita*, Garbe Richard's *Die Sâmkhya-Philosophie* and *Eine Darstellung des Indischen Rationalismus*, and *Krischnas Weltengang, Ein Indischer Mythos in zwanzig Andachten aus dem Vischnupuranam übertragen von A. Paul*.[31]

Additionally, M. Edouard Charton, *Le tour du Monde—Nouveau Journal des Voyages*, and an 1898 title, *Das Buch der Erfindungen, Gewerbe und Industrien* [*Book of Inventions*], in six volumes are found in his library.[32] In volume 2, the chapter "Baukunst und technische Künste" contains two plates of "Ostindische Kunst" [East Indian art] and a text "Indischer Baustil" [Indian architectural style] with an engraving of "Inneres of Tadsch-Mehal" [interior of the Taj Mahal], an indication that Jung was familiar with Islamic art before he saw the historic monument in India.

It is not surprising to find a new edition of Romain Rolland's *La vie de Ramakrishna* [*Teachings of Sri Ramakrishna*] and *Worte des Ramakrishna*, as well as Swami Vivekananda's *Ramakrishna, Mein Meister*, in Jung's library.[33] Rolland was an ardent Vedanta advocate and a close acquaintance of Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. Jung seemed to have procured a number of other titles, such as *Shri Aurobindo, Gedanken und Einblicke, Indische Weisheit*, Jeani Herbert's *Wege zum Hinduismus, Indische Weisheit*, and Swami Narasimha's *Self-Realisation, Life and Teachings of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi* after his return from India.[34]

Between the years 1934 to 1938, Jung leafed through *Prabuddha Bharata* [*Awakened India*], the journal of the Ramakrishna Order published in English from Almora, India.[35] As we shall see later, Jung had established formal links with the Ramakrishna Mission Vedanta institution in the decade of the thirties. Swami Shri Purohit's *An Indian Monk: His Life and Adventures* shows Jung's interest in the life of monks. *The Birth of Indian Psychology*

and Its Development in Buddhism, by Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, along with Eugene Walter Clark's *Indian Conceptions of Immortality* are also found. He studied Helmuth von Glasenapp's *Brahma und Buddha of Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft*. Elizabeth Sharpe's *The Tantrik Doctrine of Immaculate Conception: The Secret of the Tantras* were also part of his explorations.[36] The works of Ananda Coomaraswamy and Heinrich Zimmer, two outstanding oriental scholars of that period, were part of his library.

The dates of all these publications span from early 1900 to the 1940s, a time when the oriental movement was at its peak. Many of the books are in German, in which Jung was proficient.[37] In July 1919, when Jung wrote playfully to his nine-year-old daughter Marianne from London about a carved wooden doll from India, he would have been well acquainted with some of the principal oriental texts available in Europe then.[38]

Jung's Links with the Orient

Jung's interest in the East was fueled to a large extent by the environment that he lived in. For the better part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the West was experiencing an exalted interest in the Orient. Jung was not impervious to these developments. The oriental charm had engulfed European nations since the halcyon days of Marco Polo, when the gates to the East had been thrown open and voyagers had begun exploring the sea routes to the East in search of oriental tomes and treasures.[39] The yen for the Orient eventually took the draconic form of imperial hegemony. Britain's vaulting political and economic aspirations spurred its territorial aggression on the East and secured for the monarchy, in due course, immense economic wealth and political power, as well as many oriental tomes and riches. The learned societies that Britain established were intended to acquire, preserve, and disseminate the archival treasures appropriated from the East; their worth was well recognized in the West and their possession reinforced Britain's intellectual and cultural supremacy worldwide.[40]

Translations of these exotic texts were effected through imperial patronage.[41] For instance, Max Müller, the German Indologist, went to England in 1846 in search of transcripts of the Rig Veda. He stayed on to pursue his researches in Oxford because the East India Company had access to the sacred books of India and intended to publish them under its

auspices.[42] Müller is perhaps the best-known example of how imperial Britain utilized Western scholarship to assimilate Eastern knowledge material, but the more pertinent factor here is that these developments helped Jung and other Western scholars access Indian literature in Europe without difficulty.

While it is true that Jung's interest in the East was fostered by the oriental phenomenon in the West, his appraisal of the East was not similar to the general perceptions of his time. Jung was interested in the East from a psychological point of view. The period of the early 1900s, when he began exploring the Orient, coincided with the flowering of his ideas on the collective unconscious. He found the Western scientific analogy inadequate for offering deeper insights on the psyche, whereas Eastern religious tenets effortlessly delved into notions of the self through the concept of the Brahman and the Atman.[43] Masters of Western enlightenment such as Meister Eckhart, Gottfried Leibniz, Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Hegel, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Eduard von Hartmann had influenced Jung's choice of readings; in fact, Eckhart and Leibniz had written about Buddhist precepts and the *I Ching* long before Jung studied them.[44] Most of them had drawn their inspiration from the East, and Jung had intimations of the East from their writings, but the parallels that he found between his psychological concepts and the religious principles of the East came from his own meticulous investigations and were pioneered by him alone.[45] His predecessors had raised these themes in metaphysical and philosophical language, but Jung brought these ideas into empirical and psychological domains.[46]

The inventory at Küsnacht suggests the notions that Jung held in his mind about the East before his journey. What interested him about the East were its religious and philosophical ideas as well as oriental art and mythology. Jung seemed less concerned with the contemporary history and culture of the subcontinent. He was well versed in the political developments of Europe and America and, being Swiss, had a distinct political orientation of his own.[47] But, when it came to the East, Jung's link was not through the contemporary historical channels. His interests were in the symbolic and notional world of a prehistoric time. He was aware of the colonial invasion and the events surrounding India's freedom struggle.[48] But Eastern mythology and religion corresponded more closely with his psychological work than contemporary

politics.[49] It is important to note this, because the East that Jung envisioned in his mind was in many ways different from the East that he actually encountered during his journey in India.

Arthur Avalon and the Genus of Oriental Scholarship

Jung's perception of the East from all that he had garnered through his readings was a seamless amalgam of history, mythology, art, culture, and religion. He was inspired by Eastern spiritual tradition, but it reminded him of the drawbacks of the West.

> The East teaches us another, broader, more profound, and higher understanding—understanding through life. We know this only by hearsay, as a shadowy sentiment expressing a vague religiosity, and we are fond of putting "Oriental wisdom" in quotation marks and banishing it to the dim region of faith and superstition. But that is wholly to misunderstand the realism of the East . . .
>
> Western imitation is a tragic misunderstanding of the psychology of the East, every bit as sterile as the modern escapades to New Mexico, the blissful South Sea islands, and central Africa, where "the primitive life" is played at in deadly earnest while Western man secretly evades his menacing duties, his *hic Rhodus hic salta*. It is not for us to imitate what is foreign to our organism or to play the missionary; our task is to build up our Western civilization, which sickens with a thousand ills.[50]

In stating this and refusing to deify the East like his Western compatriots, Jung set the tone of an intricate and complex relationship between him and the East. Jung was certain that a blind idealization of the East was detrimental for the Western psyche. Jung's concerns were psychological in nature. The saga of Arthur Avalon vividly illustrates what Jung alluded to when he considered the ramifications of close cultural interactions between the East and West.

Jung came across Arthur Avalon's works in 1919 when Avalon's translation of *The Serpent Power* was first published. Avalon is widely credited with having introduced to the West the rudiments of Tantric religion, an esoteric Hindu religious order. Jung's curiosity was aroused when he recognized that images in Avalon's book corresponded with the dreams of some of his patients, which he had been unable to analyze until then.[51] During the course of his inquiry, Jung read *The Serpent Power*, which is a commentary on the Tantric texts, *Satchakranirupana and Padukapanchaka*. He also read *Shakti and Shâkta* and *Kundalini Sakti in Yoga*, written by

Avalon.[52] In October and November of 1932, Jung gave a series of lectures on Kundalini Yoga at the Psychological Club, Zürich, following Wilhelm Hauer's invitation to interpret the Yoga tenets.[53] Jung's and Hauer's talks were based on Arthur Avalon's translation of *Shat-chakra-nirupana*, an ancient treatise on the unity of the six centers of human consciousness. Thus Avalon's works were the basis of Jung's earliest deliberations on the East. Unknown to Jung, not far from Zürich, Avalon was at the time battling a strange turn of events in his own life.

Arthur Avalon was the pseudonym of John Woodroffe. He was born in Calcutta on December 15, 1865, and was of British origin.[54] His father, Sir James Woodroffe, was a barrister at the High Court in Calcutta during the imperial regime and a member of the Viceroy's Council. On his mother's side, John Woodroffe was related to Allan Octavian Hume, a supporter of Indian nationalism. Woodroffe was educated at Woburn Park and at University College, Oxford, and deputed to India in 1890 after college. Serving at first as the standing counsel to the government of India in 1902, and later as the chief justice of the Calcutta High Court in 1915, Woodroffe was an ace legal expert. His journey to the East, however, had a tragic underside.

John Woodroffe pursued an eclectic range of interests beyond his judicial duties in Calcutta. He was one of the leading spirits of the oriental art movement of early 1900s. Woodroffe's wife, Ellen, was a concert pianist and shared her husband's interest in the Orient. Woodroffe had a keen interest in Sanskrit and ancient religious treatises, and it is believed that he was introduced to Tantric philosophy by his subordinates at the High Court of Calcutta. Woodroffe learned Sanskrit by employing a tutor and translating twenty or more original Sanskrit texts under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon. *The Serpent Power,* Jung's primary material for the study of Kundalini, was first published in September 1918. It is believed that Woodroffe collaborated with local pandits and scholars while rendering his translations, but the intriguing point here is that in assimilating these ancient religious precepts, Woodroffe adopted unconventional methods and practices.

Years earlier, on the Bugishu expedition in Africa, Jung encountered an alien culture that had attempted to lure him into the world of the "primitive."[55] Jung interpreted this as the tendency to "go black" or to retreat into one's archaic self. Woodroffe's pursuit of Tantric knowledge did not remain confined to cerebral activities alone but spilled into the dense

labyrinth of his inner life. It is believed that during his stay in Calcutta, Woodroffe met Tantric gurus, dressed in Indian attire in private, meditated every day bareheaded and semi-clothed on the roof of his residence, cultivated more Indian friends than British, and gathered with fellow devotees at ancient temple sites to practice Tantric rites. The sophisticated, public persona of a British bureaucrat, art connoisseur, scholar, and legal expert was offset by a shadowy private side. As a defender of Hinduism and proponent of Orientalism, Woodroffe was an acknowledged oriental scholar.[56] He eulogized about the "Indian soul" and emphasized to Indians about the importance of being true to one's race. In colonial India, Woodroffe would have been an odd character to behold. In her inspiring account of Woodroffe's life, Kathleen Taylor writes that

> Woodroffe seems to have had a chameleon-like quality that led him to take on the colours of his environment; sometimes he spoke with the tones of the British-Indian establishment . . . but also with those of his intellectual Bengali friends and mentors. This seems to suggest there was indeed a split within him.[57]

Woodroffe's Eastern adventure ended as curiously as it had begun when he decided to leave India for Oxford in the early 1920s, plagued by unknown worries and concerns. It was rumored that one of the reasons for his sudden departure was his wife's troubled health and her anxiety over Woodroffe's growing involvement with Tantric affairs, while another report was that he had fallen out of grace with the British. He retained his links with India for some time after his departure, but it was clear that his life was altered immeasurably after his return to England. A curious fact that surfaced was that both John and Ellen converted to Roman Catholicism after their return, Ellen first, followed by John. This was possibly done to offset the supposed religious infraction that had taken place in India. However, Woodroffe was unable to adapt to his life in England. It spiraled hopelessly downward when a series of personal tragedies befell him: his wife and daughter died untimely deaths caused by mysterious ailments and Woodroffe himself became debilitated by Parkinson's disease. His life became a stark contrast to the exuberant, adventurous years that had marked his stay in Calcutta. A moving account of this is provided in Taylor's book through the reminiscences of Woodroffe's son, James, who recollected his childhood with his parents in England after their return from India.

Woodroffe's works find a prominent place in Jung's library. His saga is a

poignant reminder of the dark underbelly of Orientalism, a predicament that befell not just Woodroffe but many others who undertook cultural crossings without a full knowledge of the psychological pitfalls they entailed. Jung became familiar with this syndrome and spoke of the dangers of working with alien cultures without a firm, psychological footing:

> In these matters one needs a great deal of psychology in order to make it palatable to the Western mind. If we do not try hard and dare to commit many errors in assimilating it to our Western mentality, we simply get poisoned. For these symbols have a terribly clinging tendency. They catch the unconscious somehow and cling to us. But they are a foreign body in our system—corpus alienum—and they inhibit the natural growth and development of our own psychology. It is like a secondary growth or a poison. Therefore one has to make almost heroic attempts to master these things, to do something against those symbols in order to deprive them of their influence. Perhaps you cannot fully realize what I say, but take it as a hypothesis. It is more than a hypothesis, it is even a truth. I have seen too often how dangerous their influence may be.[58]

John Woodroffe traveled the twilight maze of two worlds, a European gripped by the spirit of the Orient, facing the tragic consequences of this dark and daring adventure. Oddly enough, it was Woodroffe who had cautioned Indians about the dangers of being seduced by the foreigner and of losing one's "racial soul."[59] Although Woodroffe traveled through the inner trails of an ancient, esoteric religious order, salvaging a wealth of wisdom from that journey, he went too far into it, risking himself and his "racial soul" in that crossing.

The Circle of Indian Links in Europe

With the onset of the 1930s, Jung's links with India grew. The worlds of East and West were inexorably different, but they frequently converged. Oskar Schmidt, a German author and an old pupil of Jung's, introduced Jung's psychology to Hermann Alexander Graf Keyserling (1880–1946). This triggered an invitation for Jung to lecture at the School of Wisdom founded by Keyserling in Darmstadt, Germany. The society was a hub of cross-cultural discourse, inspired by the ancient schools of learning in India. Keyserling was a German philosopher and writer best known for *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, based on his 1911 voyage to the East (India and Ceylon). He was a staunch admirer of Rabindranath Tagore, the celebrated Indian poet.[60] Keyserling's travelogue describes the enchanting route through Rameshwaram, Madura, Tanjore, Conjeevaram, Mahabalipuram, Adyar, and

Ellora, the very places that Jung would visit in 1938 (though no copy of Keyserling's book has been found in Jung's library).

Both Jung and Keyserling shared an affinity for the East. Their friendship was sustained through correspondence, invitations to Darmstadt, and their links with Indian Vedanta institutions. Both contributed companion articles to the centenary issue of *Prabuddha Bharata*, the Vedanta journal of the Ramakrishna Mission.[61] Jung also wrote three commentaries on Keyserling's essays.[62] Keyserling was known to Victoria Ocampo, the Argentine writer who was a follower of Tagore. Keyserling, Ocampo, and Tagore fashioned a cultural channel between East and West during the 1920s, and for Jung, Keyserling's friendship offered a natural proximity to the Orient and an opportunity to engage with the East in distant Europe.[63]

Jung became acquainted with Hermann Hesse, the noted German-born author, at the Zürich Psychology Club in 1916, under very different circumstances. His interaction with Hesse was significant in deepening his impressions of the East. Hesse had a long association with India through his missionary parents and grandparents; his parents had served at the Basel Mission in southern India.[64] Hesse's mother, Marie Gundert, was born in India in 1842, and Hesse had known of India since early childhood from his Pietist missionary grandfather, Hermann Gundert. His connection with India was stoked through his readings of Schopenhauer and the *Bhagavad Gita.* In 1911, Hesse traveled eastward (but not to India), and the first literary expression of this was a book, *Aus Indien*.[65]

Hesse was drawn to Buddhism after he read translations of Lao Tse, Richard Wilhelm's *Confucius and Confucianism,* and Hermann Oldenburg's *Buddha*. Along with Goethe, Nietzsche, and Schopenhauer, the Upanishads and Chinese philosophy had a strong influence on Hesse. But while his inspirations were very similar to Jung's, Hesse was a writer in the German Romantic tradition and Jung was an alienist with a scientific outlook. It was Hesse's fragile psychological state that hauled him into analysis with Jung's student, Dr. J. B. Lang, in Lucerne. In 1918, when Hesse recovered, he wrote a stirring commentary on this new science (analytical psychology), whose founder was none other than Carl Jung.[66] Jung became interested in Hesse sometime in 1919 after he read *Demian.* In 1921, Jung treated Hesse briefly during the writing of *Siddhartha* and said that some of the inspiration for writing *Siddhartha* came from their talks.[67] In a letter to Mr. Emanuel Maier

in 1950, Jung wrote:

> I know Hesse's work and I know him personally. I knew the psychiatrist who has treated him. He died several years ago. Through him Hesse has received some influences originating in my work (which show for instance in demian, siddhartha and steppenwolf [*sic*]). It was about that time (1916) that I made Hesse's personal acquaintance. The psychiatrist was Dr. J. B. Lang. He was a very curious, though extremely learned man, who had studied oriental languages (Hebrew, Arabic and Syrian) and was particularly interested in gnostic speculation. He got from me a considerable amount of knowledge concerning Gnosticism which he also transmitted to Hesse. From this material he wrote his demian. The origin of siddhartha and the steppenwolf is of a more hidden nature. They are—to a certain extent—the direct or indirect results of certain talks I had with Hesse. I'm unfortunately unable to say how much he was conscious of the hints and implications which I let him have. Unfortunately I'm not in a position to give you full information, since my knowledge is strictly professional.[68]

What Jung himself imbibed from Hesse is not easy to discern, but it is certain that he would have had reservations about Hesse's overt enthusiasm for the East. Their ideological differences may have impaired their personal relations eventually, for Hesse discontinued his analytical sessions with Jung in 1922. His creative composition *Siddhartha* revealed his admiration for Eastern spirituality, an ideal which Jung did not readily cater to. It was during the writing of *Siddhartha* that Jung and Hesse parted ways.[69] Although Hesse hailed Jung as "an immense mountain, an extraordinary genius," he was distanced from Jung after 1922.[70] The spirit of their association was kept alive by Miguel Serrano, an expatriate South American diplomat who became a friend of both.[71] Hesse was also known to both Keyserling and Richard Wilhelm in the circle of Jung's links.[72]

Wilhelm Hauer, the German Indologist, also came in close contact with Jung. Hauer was schooled in Protestant theology and had spent several years in India working for the Basel Mission. He was influenced by the spiritual philosophy of the East and had developed a vast knowledge of Tantric tenets. When Hauer put forth the idea that Indian spiritual traditions corresponded with Western psychotherapy, Jung took up his invitation to explore the psychological nuances underlying Tantric religious tenets. Their mutual interest in the *yogasutras* led to their joint talks on the Kundalini at the Psychology Club in Zürich in 1932.[73]

Jung's association with Hauer yielded rich psychological insights. While Hauer emphasized the structural components of the *yogasutras*, Jung elaborated on the psychological connotations. The records of their lectures offer a fascinating view of Jung's thoughts. The Kundalini seminars were one

of his earliest talks on Indian philosophy and religion. During the talks, Jung gave psychological connotations of the Sanskrit epithets, relating them with analytical examples. He explained how the images of the chakras had appeared in the dreams of some of his European patients and deliberated on their significance. He cautioned the audience against getting carried away by these exotic images; he was concerned about the effect these discussions might have on them. In the early thirties, Jung's link with the East was channeled through a close circle of oriental scholars living in Europe and through his readings of ancient Indian texts and scripts.[74]

Long before he collaborated with Hauer, Jung had met Richard Wilhelm. Wilhelm was a German sinologist and theologian, a former missionary to China, noted for his translation of the *I Ching* and *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. He came to know Jung closely in the 1920s. Before Jung met Wilhelm, he had experimented with the *I Ching* on his own and had become familiar with the ancient Chinese oracle. But Jung did not analyze its full significance until he came in contact with Wilhelm. The *I Ching* was not Jung's or Wilhelm's discovery in the Western world. Centuries earlier, Leibniz had dwelled on the mathematical merits of this system, and Jung himself had probed into Gnostic texts to grasp the nature of coincidences that the *I Ching* described. In 1923, Jung wrote the foreword to the second edition of Wilhelm's book *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life*.[75] Wilhelm's knowledge of Chinese philosophy came in very handy for Jung when he began examining the principle of acausality. They developed a rare friendship, during which time Jung witnessed, with concern, Wilhelm's debilitating health.

> A few years later Wilhelm was staying as a guest in my house, and came down with an attack of amoebic dysentery. It was a disease he had twenty years before. His condition grew worse during the following months and then I heard that Wilhelm was in the hospital. I went to Frankfurt to visit him, and found a very sick man. The doctors had not yet given up hope, and Wilhelm, too, spoke of plans he wished to carry out when he got well. I shared his hopes, but had my forebodings. What he confided to me at the time confirmed my conjectures. In his dreams, he revisited the endless stretches of desolate Asiatic steppes—the China he had left behind. He was groping his way back to the problem which China had set before him, the answer to which had been blocked for him by the West. By now he was conscious of this question, but had been unable to find a solution. His illness dragged on for months . . .
>
> Wilhelm's problem might also be regarded as a conflict between consciousness and the unconscious, which in his case took the form of a clash between West and East. I believed I understood his situation, since I myself had the same problem as he and knew what it meant to be involved in this conflict.[76]

In Wilhelm, Jung encountered the disastrous fallout of a cultural complex, one that had been triggered by Wilhelm's close proximity to China. Jung identified this as *enantiodromia*, a concept that he borrowed from the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus. E. A. Bennet remarked that Jung explained the phenomenon by saying that "when a one-sided attitude persists, inevitably the opposite attitude comes to the fore in an automatic attempt to restore a balanced attitude."[77] Like Woodroffe, Wilhelm had been compelled to return to his homeland after his long stay in China. His neglected Christian spirit had risen in him unconsciously to counteract his growing intimacy with Chinese culture. But his homecoming was futile because Wilhelm was unable resolve the conflict of the East and West in himself and had failed to reestablish his connection to his Germanic roots. Jung noted that Wilhelm had taken on Chinese mannerisms; as a missionary he had not converted a single Chinese person to Christianity, but he had himself become imbued with Chinese spirit and manners.[78] John Beebe, in his article "Jung and East," explains this psychologically:

> Jung makes it clear, in other words, that taking Eastern wisdom into the ego is actually a typically Western move . . . For occasionally one meets someone who is really willing to sacrifice the Western attitude of will and make a wholesale identification with the psychological attitude of an Eastern culture. Such a person may work enormously hard at the sacrifice involved, and even succeed, but there is always the risk of an *enantiodromia*, in which the sacrificer ends up being the sacrificed. In a very moving memorial essay, Jung records how he observed that very reversal at the end of the life of his friend Richard Wilhelm, who translated the *I Ching* for the first time in a way that it could really be used by people in the West. In absorbing enough of the Chinese point of view to pull this off, Wilhelm effectively turned himself into an instrument for the realization of Chinese culture. But then he tried to reassert his former standpoint, returning to Germany as a teacher of Chinese thought. Following that move back to Europe, China turned negative in his dreams and his Western ego staged a return, but in Jung's view the return of that ego was too much for a body that was already weakened by disease. Wilhelm was to die soon after. For Jung, Wilhelm's early death marked the fulfilment of a tragic destiny. On this, as on other occasions, Jung stressed that the journey to the East is not to be undertaken lightly, as it will absolutely upset the Western balance between ego and Self, either by inflating the ego or setting up a situation in which we may not be prepared any longer, to withstand the force of our Western ego when it does return from a long, enforced exile.[79]

Jung's notion of the East underwent a significant change during his friendship with Wilhelm. It made him more critical of the Western disposition of imitating the East. In 1936, in a commentary titled "Yoga and the West," Jung said:

> In the East, where these ideas and practices have developed and where for several thousand

> years, an unbroken tradition has created the necessary spiritual foundations, Yoga is, as I can readily believe, the perfect and appropriate method of fusing body and mind together so that they form a unity which is scarcely to be questioned. This unity creates a psychological disposition which makes possible intuitions that transcend consciousness. The mentality developed in India contains no element which makes it difficult for Indians to master the concept of Prana in an intelligent way. The West on the contrary, with its bad habit of wanting to have faith on the one hand and with its highly developed scientific and philosophic critique on the other, finds itself in a real dilemma. Either it falls into the trap of faith and swallows down concepts like those of Prana, Chakra, Samadhi etc. without giving them a thought or its scientific critique repudiates them one and all as "pure mysticism." Therefore from the very beginning, the split in the mentality of the West makes it impossible for the intentions of Yoga to be made real in any sort of adequate way. It becomes either exhaustively a matter of religion, or a kind of training such as a memory technique, breathing gymnastics, etc., and not a trace is to be found of the unity and wholeness of character peculiar to Yoga. The Hindu can forget neither the body nor the mind, while the European is always forgetting either the one or the other. With this ability to forget the one or the other pole, the European has gone forth and conquered the world—the Hindu has not.[80]

In many ways, Heinrich Zimmer filled the void that Wilhelm had left behind for Jung. Zimmer was of Jewish German origin, a renowned Sanskrit scholar and Indologist whose knowledge of Indian mythology was a wellspring of wisdom for the ever-inquiring Jung. Zimmer was acquainted with Orientalists such as Ananda Coomaraswamy and was well versed in the spiritual traditions of India. Jung first met Zimmer in 1932 in Zürich and then again at the Viennese *Kulturbund*, where Jolande Jacobi had invited both Jung and Zimmer to speak.[81] Zimmer's *Kunstform und Yoga* [*Art and Yoga*], written in 1926, had already drawn Jung's attention for its treatise on the mandalas. Both contributed companion lectures and articles for *Eranos Jahrbuch*, the Psychology Club, and the Indian Vedanta journal *Prabuddha Bharata*.[82] Jung often sought out Zimmer for clarifications, holding him in the highest collegial regard. In a letter to Zimmer, Jung wrote: "I should be greatly obliged if you could tell me whereabouts in Indian literature Surya or the sun is described as one-footed. I think I have read it somewhere but cannot find the note."[83] And in another letter in 1941, he wrote: "We often think of you and did so quite particularly in the last Eranos meeting . . . there is after all one Zimmer, who we concluded, is inimitable. We simply missed you."[84]

Zimmer's book *Indische Sphaeren,* published in 1935, included treatises such as "Indischer Mythos" and "Yoga and Maya," which mirrored Jung's own ideas on the East. Jung was doubtful whether the practice of Yoga could benefit the Westerner, and Zimmer concurred with him. But Zimmer was an

enthusiast of Indian spiritual traditions and believed that Indian psychotherapy was far more evolved than Western psychology.[85] When Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn founded the *Eranos Tagungen* in the summer of 1933, the theme was "Yoga and Meditation in the East and West." Zimmer's lecture was titled "On the Meaning of Indian Tantric Yoga," and Jung's was titled "A Study in the Process of Individuation."[86]

Zimmer was a strong inspiration for Jung's travel to India. He urged Jung to meet the Indian "holy man" Ramana Maharshi, but Jung was averse to it.[87] Zimmer's own plans to visit India in 1939 did not materialize due to the war, but Jung regaled him with his experiences on his return.[88] Zimmer died prematurely at the age of fifty-two. Barbara Hannah gives an account of how Zimmer had been compelled to leave Germany due to Nazi activities. He was unable to adapt to life in Britain and America; within two years of his departure from Germany he contracted pneumonia and passed away in New York in 1943.[89] His death, like Wilhelm's, was untimely and unanticipated. Zimmer, Wilhelm, and Woodroffe were bound by similar destinies. Jung's interactions with them and his readings had left him with many impressions about India, but these were mostly notional; he had yet to experience India directly.

The Way of Initiation

> We Europeans are not the only people on the earth. We are just a peninsula of Asia and on that continent there are old civilisations where people have trained their minds in introspective psychology for thousands of years, whereas we began with our psychology not even yesterday but only this morning. These people have an insight that is simply fabulous, and I had to study eastern things to understand certain facts of the unconscious. I had to go back to understand Oriental symbolism.[90]

Jung's exalted words at Tavistock in 1935 were unusual, considering that his intellectual moorings were in the Western scientific tradition and the audience was a British psychoanalytic group. But Jung had been delving into Eastern literature for years and was convinced about its worth. The spiritual goals of the East coincided with the concept of psychological wholeness that Jung advocated, and so he would not dismiss their importance ever. It was not the East in a modern, contemporary sense that Jung connected with, but the timeless, archaic world symbolized in sacred texts and mythologies. He explains this in a letter written in 1932 to Dr. A. Vetter:

> But it is not due to any intention or activity of mine that the spiritual and historical analogy with the East gets into my way of looking at things. The intrusion of the East is rather a psychological fact with a long history behind it. The first signs may be found in Meister Eckhart, Leibniz, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer and E. von Hartmann. It is not however the actual east we are dealing with but the collective unconscious, which is omnipresent. You have seen very rightly that I have landed in the Eastern sphere, so to speak, through the water of this unconscious for the truths of the unconscious can never be thought up, they can be reached only by following a path which all previous cultures right down to the most primitive level have called the way of initiation.[91]

To E. A. Bennet, Jung said that every person had to live by a central idea in his life that gave him meaning and fulfillment. He called this the "myth" of life that people of olden times lived by. He said that his central "myth" or discovery was the collective unconscious.[92] In 1929, in his commentary to Richard Wilhelm's *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, Jung defined the collective unconscious:

> It must be pointed out that just as the human body shows a common anatomy over and above all racial differences, so, too the human psyche possesses a common substratum transcending all differences in culture and consciousness. I have called this substratum collective unconscious. This unconscious psyche, common to all mankind, does not consist merely of contents capable of becoming conscious, but of latent predispositions towards identical reactions. The collective unconscious is simply the psychic expression of the identity of brain structure irrespective of all racial differences. This explains the analogy, sometimes even identity, between the various myth motifs and symbols, and the possibility of human communication in general.[93]

It was clear to Jung that the Eastern goals of enlightenment coincided with his ideas of psychological wholeness, and the East would figure in his work prominently. He continued to insist, however, that a blind imitation of the East was to be avoided, for the West had to realize its own religious and spiritual potential in the context of its own history and tradition. Jung's ideas were often misconstrued.[94] In 1923, Jung wrote to Oskar A. H. Schmitz in response to Schmitz's book, *Psychoanalyse und Yoga*.

> Permit me a few remarks: to the extent that I regard the psychoanalytic and the psychosynthetic method as an instrument for self-improvement, your comparison with the method of yoga seems to me extremely plausible. But I feel it is necessary to emphasize that this is only an analogy, because nowadays far too many Europeans are inclined to accept Oriental ideas and methods uncritically and to translate them into the mental language of the Occident. In my view this is detrimental both to ourselves and to those ideas. The products of the oriental mind are based on its own peculiar history, which is radically different from ours.[95]

Irrespective of this stance, Jung's affinity for India did not dim in any way. During the early 1920s, he embarked on building his retreat at Bollingen. The house was in many ways a symbol of his lifelong work on the unconscious.

> I wanted a room in this tower where I could exist for myself alone. I had in mind what I had seen in Indian houses, in which there is usually an area—though it may be only a corner of a room separated off by a curtain—to which the inhabitants can withdraw. There they meditate for perhaps a quarter or half an hour, or do Yoga exercises. Such an area of retirement is essential in India, where people live crowded very close together . . . Thus the second tower became for me a place of spiritual concentration.[96]

Jung would not have seen such a room (a *puja* room) until his actual visit to an Indian home in 1938, but such an image could have risen in his mind spontaneously from the unplumbed depths of the unconscious.[97] The image of a house carried a psychological significance for him always. It was a house in a dream of his that had given him his first inkling of the collective unconscious many years earlier.[98] In Bollingen, his spiritual tower came to be fashioned from a subliminal vision of the East.

Thus, a chain of events preceded Jung's journey to the East. When he declared at the Kundalini seminars that he had no idea about the Eastern idea of the unconscious, it was true that he had not encountered the real India and his vast readings on Eastern texts had not given him that knowledge or perspicacity.[99] But this would change soon.

Jung and Radhakrishnan

One of the first Indians Jung probably met in Zürich was Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. By 1930, Jung had become widely known in the scientific and philosophical circles of the West, and there were many who were seeking an audience with him in Zürich. In the autumn of 1929, S. Radhakrishnan, the Indian philosopher and educator, was invited to be the principal of Harris Manchester College, Oxford. He had become a popular figure in Indian academia and had been spearheading the educational movement in India. Jung recounted meeting an erudite Indian in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*:

> More than fifteen years later, a highly cultivated elderly Indian visited me, a friend of Gandhi's, and we talked about Indian education—in particular, about the relationship between guru and chela. I hesitantly asked him whether he could tell me anything about the person and character of his own guru, whereupon he replied in a matter-of-fact tone, "Oh yes, he was Shankaracharya."

> “You don’t mean the commentator on the Vedas who died centuries ago?” I asked.
>
> “Yes, I mean him,” he said, to my amazement.
>
> “Then you are referring to a spirit?” I asked.
>
> “Of course it was his spirit,” he agreed.
>
> At that moment I thought of Philemon.
>
> “There are ghostly gurus too,” he added. “Most people have living gurus. But there are always some who have a spirit for teacher.”
>
> This information was both illuminating and reassuring to me.[100]

Radhakrishnan did not refer to this interlude in his writings, but the description of an intellectual, a friend of Gandhi, conversant with Indian education and a follower of Shankaracharya did fit him. Radhakrishnan wrote at length on Shankaracharya’s teachings and was a staunch advocate of the Vedanta philosophy.[101] To Jung, the encounter was memorable because what an Indian could effortlessly conceive of as a guru or spiritual teacher was not an easily conjured or straightforward perception for a European like him.

In 1936, Jung’s close friend Heinrich Zimmer wrote a moving description of the guru in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

> The “Guru,” or spiritual guide of souls, is freely chosen because one has met him and cannot avoid him. In other words, he is a necessity. Most of all, however, because he fulfils the function of father and grandfather in the family, and in his capacity as high priest, is present at all feasts and ceremonies that take place throughout the year and helps one with his magic and advice at all sacraments and turns of fate during one’s life . . . The “Guru” leads his pupil during this pilgrimage through life; he is believed to convey to him a new knowledge of his own self and to show him his own real nature.[102]

Jung’s conception of Philemon from his dreams and visions was as captivating:

> I saw that it was an old man with the horns of a bull. He held a bunch of four keys, one of which he clutched as if he were about to open a lock . . . Psychologically, Philemon represented superior insight. He was a mysterious figure to me. At times, he seemed to me quite real, as if he were a living personality. I went walking up and down the garden with him, and to me he was what the Indians call a guru.[103]

The deliberation with an Indian on the guru was a reassuring experience for Jung. No historical records have surfaced to show if Jung met Radhakrishnan during his journey in India or if they corresponded at all, but

this encounter, if true, marks the beginning of Jung's experience of the real India.

Jung and the Ramakrishna Mission

While Jung was studying ancient alchemical texts for his Kundalini lectures, a stream of visitors was gearing up to meet him in Zürich. The year 1930 was critical. Jung had most probably met Radhakrishnan, and now links with the Vedanta order of the Ramakrishna Mission were initiated. It is not clear how Jung got in touch with the mission in the first place. In 1930, an encounter with a young Indian named Boshi Sen may have triggered this association. The link may have also been prompted by Zimmer, who was acquainted with the Vedanta organization in India. News of Jung's lectures at Fordham, New York, Munich, Zürich, Tavistock, and other places had spread, and he had begun attracting a more than cursory interest from philosophers, monks, scholars, artists, and scientists from around the world. Jung's own inclinations were evident—he was delving into Eastern texts and knowledge material and looked forward to meeting Indians.

One among those early visitors was the tall, earthy, robust Boshi Sen. Boshi Sen was an Indian botanist, a student of the legendary Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose. He had left Bose's organization in the 1920s and had been traveling to different parts of the world in search of scientific knowledge and experience.[104] During the course of his travels in Europe in 1930, Boshi Sen met Albert Einstein and Jung. Boshi Sen was a scientist but his spiritual leanings were with the Ramakrishna Order. He was not an initiated monk, but he was close to the top echelons of the order. Boshi Sen's spiritual guru was the first disciple of Swami Vivekananda, and he had a vast repertoire of knowledge on Vedanta philosophy. While Jung was familiar with Ramakrishna and Vivekananda's writings, Boshi Sen was one of the first men he met from India who had direct links to the Vedanta institution.

After Jung and Boshi Sen's first meeting in November 1930, Boshi and his wife, Gertrude Emerson Sen, traveled to Europe in 1935. Gertrude Emerson (1890–1982), the daughter of Alfred Emerson and a relative of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was an expert on Asia and a founding member of the Society of Woman Geographers. She was the editor of *Asia* magazine, the journal where Jung eventually contributed his twin articles on India.[105] An avid traveler (often referred to as Marco Polo), Gertrude Emerson journeyed

to India in 1926 and penned *Voiceless India*, based on her study of Indian village life. She came in close contact with Gandhi, Tagore, Jagadish Bose, Nehru, and luminaries of the Ramakrishna Order. In 1932, she married Boshi Sen and settled down in India.

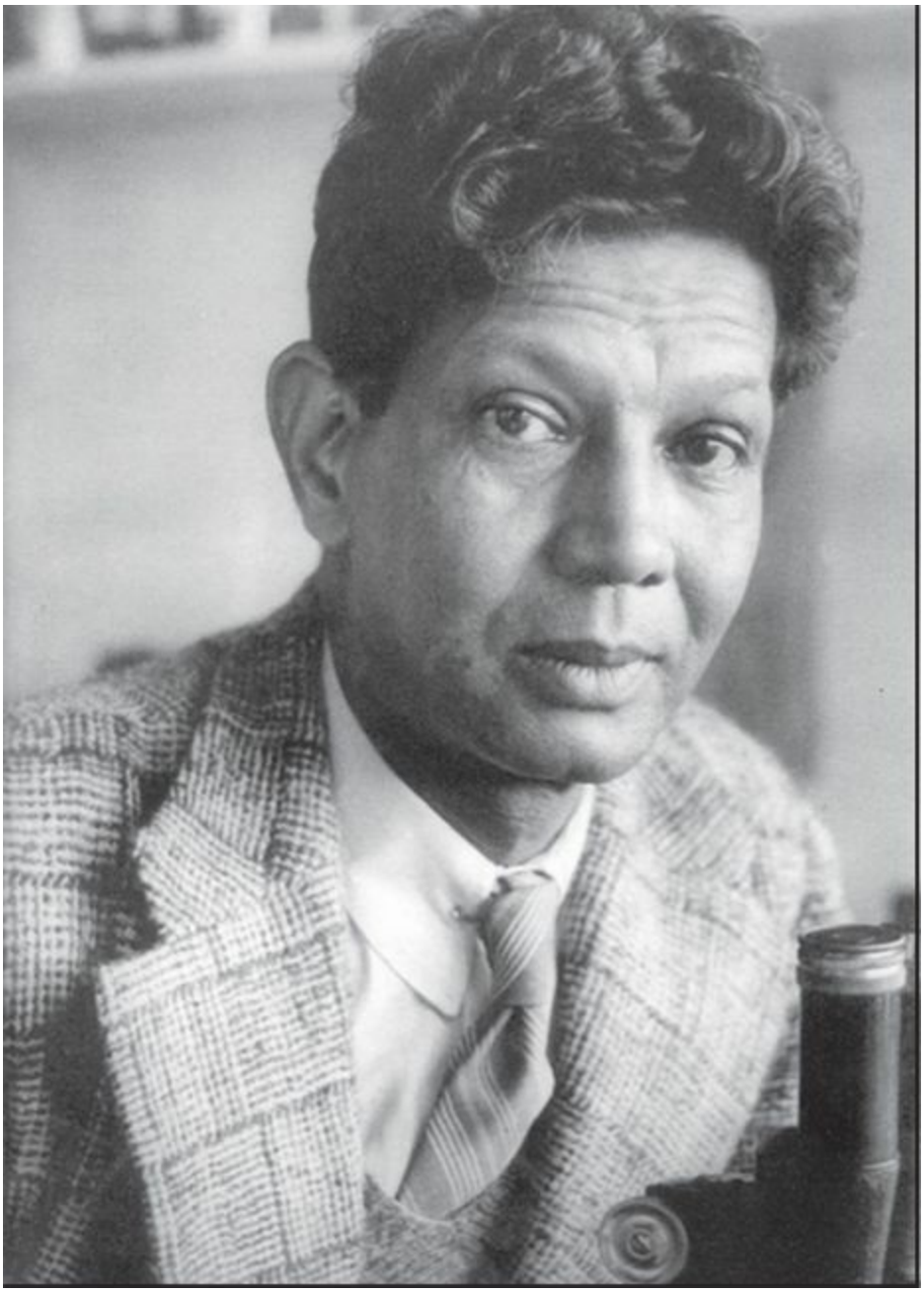


Figure 2.2: Boshi Sen, scientist and member of the Ramakrishna Mission, who was in touch with Jung from 1930, and met him during the Indian Science Congress session in Calcutta. Credit: Photograph courtesy "*Nearer Heaven Than Earth*" by Girish N. Mehra with permission from the author.

The Sens were in Europe in 1935 by invitation from Alice Lewisohn Crowley, and they took the opportunity then to meet with Jung in Zürich.[106] During their meeting, the Sens became acquainted with Jung's ideas on the unconscious. It was Gertrude's first encounter with Jung. When Jung offhandedly remarked that animals, in particular dogs, are helpful symbols in dreams, Gertrude responded that Muslims do not like dogs and do not have a favorable association with them. Jung clarified that every religion has its own symbols and that the associations changed accordingly. For Gertrude, it was a new adventure in learning. She had two significant dreams in Zürich during that week about losing Boshi. When she recounted this to Alice Crowley, the latter advised Gertrude to defer their return voyage, but Boshi scoffed at the idea. He did not believe in dreams and was not convinced of Jung's ideas.[107]



Figure 2.3: Gertrude Emerson Sen, wife of Boshi Sen, who also knew Jung from before and met him in Calcutta in 1938. Gertrude invited Jung to contribute articles to the journal *Asia*, of which she was an editor. Jung contributed two essays to this journal in 1938-39, "The Dreamlike World of India" and "What India Can Teach Us." Credit: Photograph courtesy "*Nearer Heaven Than Earth*" by Girish N. Mehra with permission from the author.

Whatever their differences, Jung and Boshi sustained their friendship over many decades. They talked about Vedanta, atman, and Ramakrishna's parables. Jung was familiar with Vedanta philosophy, but his experience with

the Sens in Zürich was his first real experience of Indians at close range. Jung had no inkling then that he would meet the Sens again in Calcutta in a few years.

During the 1930s, the West was being inundated by the Vedanta philosophy propagated by the Ramakrishna Order.[108] The mission's activities had gained prominence in America and Central Europe with the establishment of Vedanta societies. Scores of monastic emissaries had reached the West to spread the Vedanta gospel, a trend that was sparked by none other than Swami Vivekananda in Chicago. The floodgates of missionary work had opened up when a beleaguered India had found how spiritual evangelism could restore its sagging national image and foster its cultural supremacy in the West. In May 1930, in a memorial lecture, Jung said:

> If we turn our eyes to the East, we see an overwhelming destiny fulfilling itself. The guns of Europe have burst open the gates of Asia; European science and technology, European materialism and cupidity, are flooding China. We have conquered the East politically. And what happened when Rome did the same things to the Near East? The spirit of the East entered Rome. Mithras, the Persian god of light became the god of the Roman legions, and out of the most unlikely corner of Asia Minor a new spiritual Rome arose . . . It is worth noticing that England and Holland, the two main colonising powers of Asia, are also the two most infected with Hindu Theosophy. I know that our unconscious is full of Eastern symbolism. The spirit of the East is really at our gates.[109]

This prophecy resonated palpably in the decade of the thirties. In 1936, an observer wrote in the *Prabuddha Bharata*:

> To India the Swami Vivekananda's work in the West has been of the greatest importance, for it has raised India and Hinduism in the estimation of the West . . . Thus the Swami has shown that India's destiny in life is not all to beg, but that she has also to give, that she has to go out and conquer the world with her culture which contains lofty and sublime ideals of life and that this self-assertion, the assertion of her supremacy in the higher phase of life must be the very basis of her nationalism.[110]

Elsewhere in the article, a correspondent for the *New York Times* is cited:

> I do not know much about Oriental Religions, but I sometimes go on Sunday afternoons to listen to a Hindu Swami; and strange as it may appear to some of you readers, I find he teaches a very pure and lofty morality, very near akin to that of "the Sermon on the Mount" and sets forth some religious speculations teaching the eternal destiny of the human soul which are worthy of serious attention. But when I visit some of our so-called Christian Churches in this city, I find the thought so thin and the pomposity so thick, that I usually drop into a quiet dose [*sic*]; whereas the Hindu preacher can keep me awake and furnish me with food for a dreamy meditation afterwards. And this is another reason why I think we should

leave the preaching business to the Orientals themselves.[111]

Jung's caveat urging the West to look into its own spiritual and religious tradition may have seemed completely out of place in the midst of such oriental fanfare and romanticism, but that did not stop Jung from conveying his stance to outsiders. Jung met some of the torchbearers of the Vedanta movement in Europe around that time and shared his thoughts with them directly. Among those he met was a monk of the Ramakrishna Order named Swami Yatiswarananda (1889–1966), who had been deputed to Wiesbaden, Germany, in 1933 to initiate Vedanta activities.[112] Jung met him in 1934 at the yearly Eranos conference at Ascona, where the theme of the conference that year was "Symbolism and Spiritual Guidance in the East and West." Jung's talk was entitled "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," while Swami Yatiswarananda's was "A Brief Survey of Hindu Religious Symbolism and Its Relation to Spiritual Exercises and Higher Development."[113] It is not known if Jung was instrumental in suggesting the monk's name to Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn at Eranos. Swami Yatiswarananda came away feeling perplexed by Jung's ideas.

> The psychologist Dr. Carl Jung was one of the earliest to understand the spiritual need of man. He has pointed out that modern man is in search of his soul. But it is clear from his writings that Dr. Jung himself does not seem to have found out his true self. I met him in Switzerland and presented him some of my books. He spoke to me about the unconscious. He said that the superconscious of the Hindu was included in the unconscious. That is a strange doctrine. It is actually just the other way round. We generally think that the body is the outermost, mind is inner to it, and the soul is the innermost layer. We have to reverse the order. The Atman or Self is the infinite, all-pervading Consciousness. The mind is contained within it. Still inner is the physical body which is limited and is the least pervasive. The superconscious is at present unknown to us, but that does not mean that it is the same as the unconscious mind of the psychologists. It can be attained through spiritual disciplines. It is the source of supreme peace and bliss. More than all, it gives man the feeling of wholeness, the feeling of supreme fulfillment.[114]

Elsewhere, he said:

> Dr. Jung is famous for his classification of human types into extroverts and introverts. The introvert is given to brooding and self-criticism, lives largely in a subjective world within his own mind. The extrovert is outgoing, busies himself with the outside world of affairs; his reality is the objective world of action. These types are not mutually exclusive. We can find them both in ourselves. In Vedanta we speak of the *karmayogi* (the work-oriented man), the *bhakta* (the devotional man) and the *jñ´n+´* (the intellectual man). But these types are not like watertight compartments. In every one of us some elements of all these types are present.[115]

Jung's theory of psychological types defined the terms *introversion* and *extraversion* in human typology and underlined its functions and principles.[116] The monk was right in ascertaining that Jung's perception of the Eastern psyche was different from that of the West. In the Kundalini seminars, Jung had said:

> The spiritual point of view of India in general is a standpoint of this sort. Hindus do not begin as we do to explain the world by taking the hydrogen atom as the starting point, nor do they describe the evolution of mankind or of the individual from lower to higher, from deep unconsciousness to the highest consciousness. They do not see humanity under the *sthūla* aspect. They speak only of the *sūksma* aspect and therefore say: "In the beginning was the one brahman without a second. It is the one indubitable reality, being and not-being." They begin in *sahasrara*; they speak the language of the gods and think of man from above down, taking him from the *sūksma* or *para* aspect. Inner experience is to them revelation; they would never say about this experience "I thought it." . . .
>
> But the Hindu thinks in terms of the great light. His thinking starts not from a personal but from a cosmic *ajña*. His thinking begins with the brahman, and ours with the ego. Our thought starts out with the individual and goes out into the general. The Hindu begins with the general and works down to the individual.[117]

Jung had no empirical evidence of superconsciousness as a separate layer of the psyche.[118] The first point of contention between him and the East had surfaced. When a monk of the Ramakrishna Order, Swami Devatmananda, wrote from Portland, Oregon, inquiring about archetypes, Jung commented that "it is exceedingly difficult to explain the nature of the archetype to somebody who does not know about the empirical material we are dealing with in psychology."[119] Jung's difficulty in conversing with scholars and spiritualists whose ideas were rooted in metaphysical thinking had surfaced before his journey began. The speculative nature of things was not reassuring for Jung.

Swami Devatmananda was one of the pupils in the famous Mysore Study Circle in India where V. S. Subramanya Iyer taught.[120] Jung encountered Iyer along with Paul Brunton in July 1937, at the International Congress of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, Paris, only months before his journey to India.[121] V. S. Subramanya Iyer was born in 1869 in Salem, Tamil Nadu. He had studied mathematics and physics and had taught for several years in Indian universities before he branched into Vedanta studies. As a registrar of the University of Mysore, he became the *rajaguru* of the maharaja of Mysore and under the maharaja's patronage he traveled to the International Congress of Philosophy in 1937. Radhakrishnan had been a student of his, and in the

1930s Iyer lectured regularly to the monks at the Ramakrishna Mission. Paul Brunton, a British traveler and writer who accompanied Iyer to Sorbonne, was also one of his early protégés.[122] Jung's interest in inviting both Iyer and Brunton to Küsnacht in July 1937 after the Sorbonne congresses was evidently to quell his curiosity about India. He may have had an intimation of his impending tour, but Iyer's archaic personality intrigued him more. E. A. Bennet reports a conversation with Jung in which he recollected his impressions of Iyer:



SRI. V. SUBRAHMANYA IYER

Figure 2.4: V. Subramanya Iyer of Mysore, one of Jung's earliest acquaintances from India, who invited Jung to Mysore in January 1938. Credit: Photograph courtesy Ramakrishna Ashrama, Yadavagiri, Mysore, Karnataka 570020, India.

> C. G. recalled that at the Paris conference no one listened to Iyer's lectures because he was speaking like someone of the thirteenth century. It was as if Meister Eckhart was lecturing, and talking of the divine spark of man. People just disregarded him. C. G. cheered him up and invited him to Zürich; but he realised that he was unable to grasp modern thought and could not understand why no one took him seriously. Then when C. G. was in India he was invited to Mysore State where this man was the guru to the ruler; he was treated very well, stayed in the ruler's guest-house and was taken for drives in an ancient but comfortable motor car. This incident illustrated C. G.'s open attitude; he saw the interesting side of such a man while realising that he could understand nothing of his own psychology.[123]

Subramanya Iyer recorded his experience at the Sorbonne:

> During my recent visit to Europe in 1937, I have had the inestimable privilege of meeting not only at the International Congress of Philosophy, but also at other places, eminent professors as well as highly cultured men and women . . . Their talks left on me the impression that they all possessed an intense love of truth and that all were supremely eager to pursue it. But this love and this pursuit were and are confined chiefly to the sphere of their respective fields of activity or thought. Excepting a few, the question of Truth in regard to the whole of experience or life seemed to make little appeal. Some of them relegated such an inquiry to the world of the mentally defective, if not the insane . . . Even scientists often preferred to keep away from philosophy as much as possible. The majority seemed to hold an "Ultimate" or "All-comprehending Truth" to be a chimera, if not meaningless. . . .
>
> At last I placed before them for their consideration and examination the effort made by India to attain to a clearer and more consistent meaning of Truth and to test it in life. But in as much as Ultimate Truth was for most of them a chimera, they thought that India was labouring under a delusion. They further held that a nation that has been proverbially passive so long, whose greatness has always been in the past, and which is ever enamoured of mysticism cannot be expected to have the capacity to think vigorously on matters rational.[124]

Iyer's bewilderment in seeing the response he had generated at Sorbonne corresponds with Jung's description of "Master [*sic*] Eckhart lecturing." Iyer did deliver his lecture at the congressional session on Indian philosophy and acknowledged that many evinced an interest in Vedanta, but it seems unlikely that he imbibed anything of Jung's psychology himself. His large collection of writings do not refer to Jung's ideas (although he quotes and contests several other Western philosophers), and it appears that Jung did not impress upon Iyer any of his own thoughts. Iyer's only comment, retrieved from the notes of Paul Brunton, says: "Jung is in dispute with me. Therefore he says psychology is enough. I say that you must go deeper. You must ask what to the meaning of mind, sub-consciousness etc."[125]

Jung may have been oblivious to the reactions he had evoked among his Eastern acquaintances.[126] He wrote to Iyer about his imminent trip to India in September 1937, months before he was to set sail.[127] The journey that was coming alive had been preceded by decades of inquiry and examination. India had evolved in Jung's mind from the obscure visions of the *Orbis Pictus* to the intricate notes in the *yogasutras.* He had engaged with a few Indians in Zürich and had seen glimpses of the Indian philosophical attitude. Jung's impressions of India were far less indistinct now. He had discoursed in oriental forums and interacted with Eastern scholars, and he had also contributed to Indian Vedanta discourses. These exchanges had informed him of the uniqueness of the East as well as its peculiarities. India was no longer an unfamiliar entity for Jung but a living form, with a contemporary history and character. Yet, these notional impressions had not given Jung an experience of the real India. While his psychological work did not necessitate an empirical validation of the East, Jung knew that a firsthand experience of India would broaden his psychological insights significantly. He did not anticipate that an opportunity to visit India would arise spontaneously, on its own, and that an invitation would come from an unknown Eastern quarter, without his seeking it.

NOTES

[1] The Salt March was an organized nonviolent protest against British authoritarian rule which began in March 1930, and ended at Dandi, a small village on the western coast of India. R. C. Majumdar, "Struggle for Freedom," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 11 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1961), gives an overall history of that period. See also chapter 18, "Civil Disobedience: Violation of Salt Laws," in the same volume.

[2] Calcutta was a thriving intellectual, political, and social hub in the colonial period. See P. C. Bagchi, ed., *The Second City of the Empire* (Calcutta: The Local Secretaries, University College of Science, 1938), for an account of Calcutta and its history, written on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Science Congress.

[3] The first commercial flight service was introduced using a de Havilland Puss Moth monoplane, a British engineering innovation. It was piloted by a

young, enterprising Indian named J. R. D. Tata, who subsequently launched the civil aviation movement in India. The history of the first flight in India can be found in the biography of J. R. D. Tata by R. M. Lala, *A Touch of Greatness* (India: Penguin Books, 2002). The history of psychoanalysis in India has been written by Christiane Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001). Radio broadcasting is linked to Sisir Kumar Mitra, the doyen of radio science in India and an associate of C. V. Raman in Calcutta. The history of AIR (All India Radio), established in 1936, can be found in P. C. Chatterji, *Broadcasting in India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1987).

[4] The Vedanta philosophy had been actively championed in the West from the nineteenth century onward. See Gautam Ghosh, *A Biography of Swami Vivekananda* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2003).

[5] For a description of the spiritual adventures of the thirties, see Paul Brunton, *A Search in Secret India* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1935).

[6] Examples of the cultural journeys that took place in the thirties can be seen in the writings of Alice Boner and Alain Daniélou and in the lives of avant-garde artists like Amrita Sher-Gil, Uday Shankar, and others. See Alice Boner, *Diaries, 1934–1967* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993). A. Yusuf Ali's research monograph, "A Cultural History of India during the British Period" (Bombay: D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co., 1940), has documented some of the cultural experiments of that era. For an unconventional account of cultural explorations in India, see Alain Daniélou, *"The Way to the Labyrinth": Memories of East and West* (New York: New Directions Books, 1981).

[7] See Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, chapter 18 on civil disobedience. The author quotes Madeline Slade's report on the atrocities perpetrated by the British on Indians during the civil disobedience movement.

[8] The efforts of Madeline Slade (Mirabehn), Charles Freer Andrews, Annie Besant, and numerous other British nationals who championed the cause of India's freedom are memorable and need to be recalled.

[9] Jung wrote about India in the chapter called "Travels," in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989). He also spoke about his Indian experiences in his talks and interviews; see *C. G. Jung Speaking, Interviews and Encounters* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

There are also many references to India throughout the *Collected Works*.

[10] Jung's biographical details have been taken from Jung's own account and his published biographies. References have also been drawn from C. G. Jung's obituary written by E. A. Bennet and published in the *British Medical Journal* on June 17, 1961. For a comprehensive account of his life and work, see Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (New York: Basic Books, 1970). An account of Jung's life and work has also been written by Sonu Shamdasani in *The Red Book: Liber Novus* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009).

[11] Jung explained his choice of subjects in his career in an interview with John Freeman in 1959; see *C. G. Jung Speaking*, p. 430. He mentioned in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* that a chance encounter with a psychiatric textbook inspired him to take up psychiatry and a thorough consideration of other professional subjects preceded that decision.

[12] In many ways, Jung stood at the crossroads of science and spirituality. While his approach to psychology was empirical, he extended the discourse to integrate spiritual concepts and ideas. This dichotomy would be played up during his Indian journey. He was aware that a wealth of spiritual wisdom was located in the East.

[13] Jung referred to Freud and Janet in his speech at a press interview in Vienna in February 1928; see *C. G. Jung Speaking*, p. 39. He mentioned that the studies of Breuer, Janet, and Freud inspired him; see *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, chap. 5. Over time, Jung's views about this changed. In conversations with E. A. Bennet in 1957, Jung said that Janet, and the French experience in general, was uninteresting for him and that he learned nothing much in France. See E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the Years 1946–1961* (Zürich: Daimon, 1985).

[14] Jung wrote and spoke on several occasions about the history of his relations with Freud. See, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, the chapter on Sigmund Freud, as well as the interviews with Richard I. Evans and John Freeman in *C. G. Jung Speaking*. Several essays are devoted to Freud and his psychology in the *Collected Works*; see *Freud and Psychoanalysis*, vol. 4, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961); and "Sigmund Freud in His Historical Setting" (1934), in *The Spirit of Man, Art, and Literature*, vol. 15, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966). He also wrote a memorial

essay on Freud; see “In Memory of Sigmund Freud” (1939), in *The Spirit of Man, Art, and Literature*, vol. 15, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966).

[15] See C. G. Jung, *Experimental Researches*, vol. 2, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), part 1, “Studies in Word Association.”

[16] *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* was rewritten and published, in its fourth edition, in 1952 as *Symbols of Transformation*, vol. 5, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956).

[17] In a letter written in 1934, Jung said about Freud, “I criticize him because of his materialistic and intellectualistic and—last but not the least—irreligious attitude and not because he is a Jew . . . Had Freud been more tolerant of the ideas of others I would still be standing at his side today. I consider his intolerance—and it is this that repels me—a personal idiosyncrasy.” C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1: 1906–1950*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 154.

[18] Jung wrote a vivid account of his encounter with the unconscious in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, chap. 6. Much of what transpired during that phase had been recorded in the Red Book, also known as Liber Novus and published by W. W. Norton for the Philemon Foundation in 2009.

[19] About the years that he spent confronting his unconscious, Jung wrote, “The years when I was pursuing my inner images were the most important time of my life—in them everything essential was decided.” *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 199.

[20] According to Jung, he had already been pronounced a mystic after his break with Freud and after the publication of *Symbols of Transformation*; see *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, chap. 5.

[21] John Amos Comenius was a sixteenth-century Czech educator and writer of children’s books. He was one of the earliest advocates of universal education and the author of *Orbis Pictus* and *Didactica Magna*. His pioneering views antagonized the church and turned him into a heretic. For a full account of his life and work, see Jean Piaget, “Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670),” *Prospects* 23, no. 1/2 (1993):173–196.

[22] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 17. No copy of the *Orbis*

Pictus could be located in Jung's library. There are two volumes of *Reichardi Orbis Terrarum Antiquus—In Usum Juventutis*, one dated 1833 and the other 1853, in Jung's library at Küsnacht. The second has the signature "P. Jung" and was obviously a copy belonging to Jung's father, Paul. The first contains a map titled, "India intra et extra Gangem, Sinae, Taprobane"; the second has a short text and map titled, "India cum terra inter Tigrim et Indum."

[23] From *The Orbis Pictus of John Amos Comenius* (Syracuse, NY: C. W. Bardeen, 1887). Indians here evidently meant the Hindus. The woodcut image shows a kneeling figure before another seated on a throne. Jung experienced the symbolism of evil vividly in the ancient Hindu temple sites in India; see *Memories, Dreams, Recollections,* chap. 9.

[24] In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (chap. 3), Jung talks about Schopenhauer and his readings on philosophy.

[25] Information on Jung's family can be found in Albert Oeri's account, "Some Youthful Memories," in *C. G. Jung Speaking*, and Aniela Jaffé's *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung* (Zürich: Daimon, Verlag, 1989). Jung also spoke about his family in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*.

[26] For Jung's citation of Anquetil-Duperron and the Upanishads reaching the West, see C. G. Jung, "The Spiritual Problem of Modern Man" (1931), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964).

[27] These would be Jung's earliest readings on the East. Max Müller, *The Upanishads* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1900); Max Müller, *Vorlesungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der Religion* (Strassburg: J. K. Trübner, 1880); and *The Vedânta-Sûtras with a Commentary by Sankarâkârya* [*The Sacred Books of the East*], translated by George Thibaut (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1896).

[28] Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, p. 730.

[29] The list of books from Jung's library in Küsnacht was provided by the Jung Family Archives, Zürich.

[30] James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ* (London: India Museum, 1868; reprinted: Whitefish, MO: Kessinger Publishing, 2004); A. Smith Vincent, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1911); and Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Visvakarma: Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting,*

Handicraft (London: Luzac, 1912).

[31] Martin E. Osborn Rhys, *The Gods of India* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1914); William Francklin, *Researches on the Tenets and Doctrines of the Jeynes and Boodhists, Conjectured to be the Brahmanes of Ancient India* (London: John Rodwell, 1827); Edwin Arnold, *The Song Celestial or Bhagavad-Gita* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1910); Garbe Richard, *Die Sâmkhya-Philosophie* (Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1917); Garbe Richard, *Eine Darstellung des Indischen Rationalismus* (Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1894); and K. E. Neumann and von A. Paul, *Krischnas Weltengang, Ein Indischer Mythos in zwanzig Andachten aus dem Vischnupuranam übertragen* (Munich: R. Piper and Co., 1905).

[32] M. Edouard Charton, *Le tour du Monde—Nouveau Journal des Voyages* (Paris: Libraire de L. Hachette, 1860); and Karl Birnbaum, *Das Buch der Erfindungen, Gewerbe und Industrien* [*Book of Inventions*] (Leipzig: O. Spamer, 1879).

[33] Romain Rolland, *La vie de Ramakrishna* [*Teachings of Sri Ramakrishna*] (Almora: Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, 1934); Romain Rolland, *Worte des Ramakrishna* (Zürich: Rotapfel Verlag, 1930); and Swami Vivekananda, *Ramakrishna, Mein Meister* (Zürich: Rascher Verlag, 1943).

[34] N. K. Gupta, *Shri Aurobindo, Gedanken und Einblicke, Indische Weisheit* (Zürich: Rascher Verlag, 1943); Jeani Herbert, *Wege zum Hinduismus, Indische Weisheit* (Zürich: Rascher Verlag, 1951); and B. V. Narasimha, *Self-Realisation, Life and Teachings of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai, India: Sri Ramanasramam, 1944). The publication year of these books suggests that as Jung was engaged at some point in 1942 in writing a foreword to Heinrich Zimmer's book on Sri Ramana Maharshi, he was possibly studying these volumes before he wrote his essay, "The Holy Men of India" (1944), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958).

[35] Jung had copies of this journal in his library.

[36] Swami Shri Purohit, *An Indian Monk: His Life and Adventures* (London: Macmillan, 1932); Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, *The Birth of Indian Psychology and Its Development in Buddhism* (London: Luzac and Co., 1936); Eugene Walter Clark, *Indian Conceptions of Immortality* (Cambridge,

MA: Harvard University Press, 1934); Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Brahma und Buddha of Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft* (Berlin: German Book Club, 1926); Elizabeth Sharpe, *The Tantrik Doctrine of Immaculate Conception: The Secret of the Tantras* (London: Rider and Co., 1933).

[37] Germany and France were hubs for oriental research in the late nineteenth century. Max Müller gives a description of oriental research activities in Europe during that period in *My Autobiography: A Fragment* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901).

[38] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 36.

[39] The adventures of Marco Polo are narrated in Elspeth J. Boog-Watson, *Beyond the Sunset: A Book of Explorers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), chap. 2, "Road to the East."

[40] The Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, established in 1784 by Sir William Jones, is one example of Britain's hegemonic policies. The publication of *Bibliotheca Indica*, a series of texts in Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic by the society is an example of how Eastern knowledge material was disseminated in Europe. For an account of the Asiatic Society's history, see Bagchi, *The Second City of the Empire*, chap. 8 "Research Organisations and Learned Societies."

[41] An extensive list of authors engaged in studying the Orient during the colonial era can be seen in the catalogues of the Asiatic Society Library in Calcutta even today.

[42] See Max Müller, *My Autobiography* for a full description of his collaborations with the British in pursuing oriental research in England. The British government's Home Department records of 1937–38, housed at the National Archives, New Delhi, India, show the imperial government's policy with regard to oriental publications. Information on publication and export of oriental texts is found in the colonial records, as well as proscriptions of sale and export on certain publications.

[43] "I had been investigating the process of the collective unconscious since the year 1913 and had obtained results that seemed to me questionable in more than one respect. They not only lay far beyond everything known to 'academic' psychology, but they also overstepped the bounds of any medical, purely personal psychology." C. G. Jung, "Commentary on 'The Secret of the Golden Flower'" (1957), in *Alchemical Studies*, vol. 13, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), foreword, p.

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[44] Jung spoke about these philosophers and their influence on him in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* chaps. 2 and 3. Leibniz's writings on the *I Ching* can be found in Daniel Cook and Henry Rosemont Jr., *Leibniz: Writings on China* (Chicago: Open Court, 1994).

[45] In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* Jung cites how he agreed or disagreed with the philosophical dogmas of the West. For Wilhelm's *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, Jung wrote a foreword stating that his inquiries had "confronted me with an extensive phenomenology to which hitherto known categories and methods could no longer be applied"; Jung, "Commentary on 'The Secret of the Golden Flower,'" p. 3.

[46] See Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious,* for more on Jung's early inspirations. In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, chap. 12, Jung writes about philosophers like Meister Eckhart who attempted to convey the significance of Christian mythology and religion from a philosophical standpoint but did not succeed.

[47] See Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, for a description of Jung's family background, where the Swiss political history and Jung's own connect. Jung's pertinent writings include a prologue and an epigraph to *Essays on Contemporary Events*, "After the Catastrophe," and "The Swiss Line in European Spectrum," all in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964). He commented at length on the psychological phenomenon underlying Nazism in his essay "Wotan" (1936), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964). On several occasions, he spoke about American culture, psyche, and polity. Jung's political views are also narrated by E. A. Bennet; see Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*. To Peter Baynes, Jung voiced his support for England during the Second World War; see Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 285–286, 289. While analyzing the psychological phenomena underlying political developments, Jung maintained that his own stance was apolitical; in a letter to B. Cohen, he wrote: "At present I am an (animal?), who cannot be interpreted politically." See *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 155.

[48] Jung wrote about the developments surrounding the political invasion of the East in "Richard Wilhelm: In Memoriam" (1957), in *The Spirit of Man, Art, and Literature*, vol. 15, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton,

NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), and in several of his essays in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works*. In the Kundalini seminars of 1932, during Jakob Wilhelm Hauer's lecture, Jung commented on Gandhi's Salt March, the symbolic connotation of salt and the spinning wheel, and their influence in raising the consciousness of Indians, a kind of Tantra, he said.

[49] Mircea Eliade has written eloquently on these themes in *Time and Eternity in Indian Thought*, where he explained the concept of "Great Time" found in myths and legends. These myths and symbols are ahistorical because they help man break away from his own time, the profane existence of today, which is individual, chronological, and historical time. Myths help man project himself symbolically into the Great Time, "a paradoxical moment that cannot be measured because it has no duration." See Mircea Eliade, *Time and Eternity in Indian Thought* (Zürich: Eranos Jahrbucher, 1951). Jung seems to have related the East to this concept of Great Time.

[50] Jung, "Commentary on 'The Secret of The Golden Flower,'" §§ 2 and 5. Also in C. G. Jung, *Psychology and the East* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 7.

[51] Jung mentioned during the Kundalini seminar that one of his European patients had seen an image of an elephant rising from within her. Jung found that this image corresponded with that of the *cakras* (*muladhara*) shown in Avalon's book. Jung's patient had spent several years of her childhood in India, reared by an Indian nursemaid. She had been unable to adapt to her European setting on her return, and her dreams showed symptoms of her psychological disorientation. Jung said that the East had risen in her unconsciously and only an objective understanding of this fact could relieve her from her suffering. C. G. Jung, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga*, edited by Sonu Shamdasani (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 105.

[52] These titles are taken from the list of Avalon's volumes in Jung's library, provided by the Jung family. For a detailed note on Woodroffe's English publications, see Taylor, *Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Benga*, pp. 129 and 213.

[53] The correlation between Jung and Avalon in this context is only symbolic, for Jung never met Avalon nor is there evidence of him being aware of Avalon's life in India.

[54] Avalon's life story and other information about him are taken from Taylor, *Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal.*

[55] On Jung's experiences of Africa, see Blake W. Burleson, *Jung in Africa* (New York: Continuum, 2005). The author describes Jung's experience in chap. 7, "Nile Dreams."

[56] The notion of Orientalism has been addressed by Taylor, *Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal*, pp. 3–4.

[57] Taylor, *Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal*, p. 92.

[58]Jung, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga*, p. 14.

[59] For Woodroffe's idea of the "racial soul" and his stance on nationalism, see Taylor, *Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal*, p. 35.

[60] Keyserling wrote about the Tagores in his travel diary on India; see Hermann Keyserling, *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925).

[61] *Prabuddha Bharata*, vol. 61 (February 1936). Keyserling's article was titled "Ramakrishna and What He Stands For."

[62] See C. G. Jung, "The Swiss Line in the European Spectrum" (1928), "The Rise of a New World" (1930), and "La Révolution Mondiale" (1934), all in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964).

[63] Ocampo is believed to have been analyzed by Jung. Keyserling consulted Jung on his relations with Ocampo, and this correspondence can be found in C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 72–73. For a detailed account of Tagore and Ocampo, see Ketaki Kushari Dyson, "On the Trail of Rabindranath Tagore and Victoria Ocampo," at Parabaas.com; accessed at http://www.parabaas.com/rabindranath/articles/pKetaki1.html. Ocampo wrote an article on her meeting with Jung; see *C. G. Jung Speaking*, pp. 82–84. Jung also met Richard Wilhelm at the Darmstadt society.

[64] See Joseph Mileck, *Hermann Hesse: Biography and Bibliography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

[65] Hesse traveled to Indonesia, visiting Penang, Singapore, Sumatra, Borneo, and Burma, a three-month itinerary that came close to the Indian subcontinent. He came to Ceylon and visited the sacred Buddhist shrines at Kandy, but his original plan to see India did not materialize.

[66] Hermann Hesse, "Künstler und Psychoanalyse" (1918), in A. J. Storfer,

editor, *Almanach für das Jahr* 1926 (Vienna: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1926), pp. 34–38. The essay was translated for the *Psychoanalytic Review* and published under the title "Artist and Psychoanalyst" in 1963. Hesse makes only an indirect reference to his analysis (with Dr. J. B. Lang), but the translator, Miriam M. Reik, refers to the unconventional treatment offered to Hesse and the fruits the analysis bore.

[67] For a glimpse of Hesse and Jung's letters and information on Hesse's treatment, see Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 573–576.

[68] C. G. Jung, "Dear Mr. Maier: A Letter on Hesse's Inspiration," *Psychoanalytic Review*, vol. 50 (1963):15; also in Jung, *Letters*, *Vol. 1*, p. 552.

[69] Glimpses of their differences can be seen in a letter that Jung wrote to Hesse in October 1934 where he disagrees with Hesse on the concept of sublimation; see *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 173.

[70] Miguel Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse*: *A Record of Two Friendships* (Zürich: Daimon, 1966), p. 25. Jung and Hesse's memories have been poignantly captured by Serrano, to whom Hesse made this remark about Jung. In a letter to Emanuel Maier in 1950, Hesse recalled the reason for his disinterest in Jung's work; see Jung, *Letters*, *Vol. 1*, p. 575.

[71] Jung also wrote a preface to Serrano's *Queen of Sheba*; see "Dr. Jung Writes a Preface to My Book," in Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse*, pp. 83–84.

[72] Hermann Hesse wrote several essays on twentieth-century intellectuals, among them two separate essays on Keyserling and Jung; see Hermann Hesse, *My Belief: Essays on Life and Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974). Several of Hesse's biographers note that he was acquainted with Richard Wilhelm.

[73] For a detailed account of Hauer's association with Jung and the backdrop of the seminars, see Sonu Shamdasani's introduction to Jung, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga*, xvii.

[74] Shamdasani writes that Hauer's book *Der Yoga als Heilweg* carried this dedication: "To C. G. Jung, the researcher of a new way for mankind." Copies of this work, together with Hauer's *Die Bhagavadgita inneuer Sicht mit Uebersetzungen* [*The Bhagavad Gita in a New Light, with Translation*], are in Jung's library, bearing personal inscriptions to Jung.

[75] Jung described his inquiries into the *I Ching* in this foreword and said that his efforts yielded no result because Gnostic texts were inadequate and mostly speculative in content and did not offer psychological comparisons.

[76] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 376–377. Jung also reminisced on Wilhelm and his tragic death in "Richard Wilhelm: In Memoriam" and "Commentary on 'The Secret of the Golden Flower.'"

[77] See Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*, p. 30. Bennet writes, "I referred to Heraclitus, and he [Jung] said Heraclitus knew a lot and he had got the notion of enantiodromia from him." *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[78] Jung wrote: "Wilhelm, when I met him, seemed completely Chinese, in outward manner as much as in his way of writing and speaking. The Oriental point of view and ancient Chinese culture had penetrated him through and through." *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 375–376. Wilhelm's son Hellmut, an acclaimed sinologist and professor of Chinese history and literature at the University of Washington, Seattle, carried forward his father's legacy in Chinese studies. Hellmut Wilhelm participated in the Eranos meetings of 1951 and 1956, along with Jung, Mircea Eliade, Erich Neumann, Laurens van der Post, and others.

[79] John Beebe, "Response to William McGuire," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 48 (2003):447–452. The memorial essay that Beebe refers to is Jung, "Richard Wilhelm: In Memoriam."

[80] C. G. Jung, "Yoga and the West," *Prabuddha Bharata*, Sri Ramakrishna Birth Centenary Number (February 1936), p. 174.

[81] Barbara Hannah describes Jung and Zimmer at the Viennese *Kulturbund* and at Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn's *Eranos Tagungen* in Ascona; she also notes Zimmer's lectures at the Psychology Club; see Barbara Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976).

[82] Zimmer attended the Kundalini seminars of Hauer and Jung and lectured several times at the Psychology Club; see Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*. Zimmer occasionally contributed articles for *Prabuddha Bharata*, one of them being "Indian Views on Psychotherapy," in the Sri Ramakrishna Birth Centenary Number, alongside Jung, "Yoga and the West," and Keyserling, "Ramakrishna and What He Stands For."

[83] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 222.

[84] *Ibid*., p. 303.

[85] Zimmer lauded the concept of the Indian guru and compared the guru's role to that of the modern European psychotherapist. Zimmer wrote that a Western therapist's knowledge and wisdom could never match a guru's. Zimmer, "Indian Views on Psychotherapy."

[86] See the appendices to *Eranos Jahrbucher* (1956). The *Eranos Tagungen* were yearly symposiums on East and West, originally theosophical in orientation; after 1939, the focus of these seminars shifted.

[87] Jung wrote his views of the holy men of India in a foreword to Zimmer's "Der Weg Zum Selbst," published posthumously in 1944, where he also shared his reminiscences of Zimmer.

[88] Especially Jung's experience at the Konarak temple. See *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, chap. 9. According to Hannah, Zimmer was planning to visit India, but his plans never materialized.

[89] Hannah mentions that Zimmer developed a peculiar habit of speaking German while abroad and was unable to adjust to life abroad. See Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*, p. 263.

[90] C. G. Jung, "The Tavistock Lectures" (1935), in *The Symbolic Life*, vol. 18, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), § 139.

[91] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 87.

[92] E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*, p. 101.

[93] Jung, "Commentary on 'The Secret of the Golden Flower,'" § 11.

[94] Jung evokes a varying degree of responses in India even today. From disapproval about his attitude toward India to feelings of reverence about his mystic persona, India does not have a very consistent or definite response to Jung. To a question by Miguel Serrano on why Jung was given so little importance in India, Hermann Hesse said: "The reason for that is that India doesn't interpret symbols; it lives them. Thus it has taken twenty years to have my own book, *Siddhartha*, published in India . . . And my book doesn't even interpret symbols. I have often thought of this Indian aloofness as a kind of 'mental egotism'; nevertheless there is certain strength in it . . . This mental egotism is probably a necessary defense mechanism." Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse*, p. 25.

[95] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 39.

[96] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 224.

[97] Jung visited Boshi and Gertrude Sen's residence on Bosepara Lane in Calcutta in 1938. A letter to Boshi Sen written in 1938 confirms this. The Sens' home had a *puja* room, where Boshi religiously conducted his prayer and meditation everyday.

[98] Jung spoke about this dream in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* p. 158. The dream was of a two-storied house where Jung saw ancient relics and skulls. He felt that the dream held symbolic meanings. It led him for the first time to the concept of the collective unconscious and formed the prelude to his book *Symbols of Transformation*, vol. 5, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956).

[99] To a question from the audience about the Eastern idea of consciousness, Jung said that he did not know it and was not clear what the East meant by consciousness. The East viewed consciousness differently and did not recognize the unconscious in the way the West defined it, he said. Jung, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga*, p. 19.

[100] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 184.

[101] For an account of Dr. Radhakrishnan's life and philosophy, read Sarvepalli Gopal, *Radhakrishnan: A Biography* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989). The ETH Zürich has communicated that the archives have no correspondence between Radhakrishnan and Jung in the years 1936–38, so any association between them is difficult to substantiate.

[102] Zimmer, "Indian Views on Psychotherapy," *Prabuddha Bharata*, pp. 177–78.

[103] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 183.

[104] Information on Jung's interactions with Boshi Sen and his wife, Gertrude Emerson Sen, has been extracted from Girish N. Mehra, *"Nearer Heaven than Earth": The Life and Times of Boshi Sen and Gertrude Emerson Sen* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2007).

[105] These essays, contributed to *Asia* magazine in 1939 at Gertrude Emerson's request, were titled "The Dreamlike World of India" and "What India Can Teach Us"; they are included in *Civilization in Transition*, volume 10 of the *Collected Works*. *Asia* magazine was founded by Willard Straight at Cornell, and Gertrude was its editor for many years. Jung refers to these articles in a letter to Boshi Sen; Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 241.

[106] Alice Lewisohn Crowley was an American pupil of Jung's. She participated in the Kundalini seminars in 1932 and lived in Zürich until her

death. She was a close friend of Gertrude and Boshi Sen.

[107] According to Girish Mehra, Gertrude became quite proficient at analyzing her dreams. In 1971, after she lost Boshi, she dreamed that he had come to the garden of their house and was cutting an old jacaranda tree. Gertrude was agitated on seeing this, for she knew that Boshi loved plants and would never cut trees. Also there was no jacaranda tree at Kundan House, where they lived. She realized later that the dream informed her of how Boshi had severed his links with this world by cutting off the two branches of the tree, which represented his two closest links with this world. See Girish Mehra, *"Nearer Heaven than Earth,"* p. 595. This incident shows that even if Boshi found it difficult to accept Jung's psychology, Gertrude could easily relate to Jung's ideas from her Western standpoint.

[108] For a detailed account of the Ramakrishna Mission activities in taking the Vedanta movement abroad, see "The Vedanta Movement in the West," *Prabuddha Bharata* 41 (February 1936):268.

[109] Jung, "Richard Wilhelm: In Memoriam," § 90. [110] "The Vedanta Movement in the West," p. 277. [111] *Ibid*.

[112] Information on Swami Yatiswarananda has been obtained from the Ramakrishna Mission Ashram in Mysore; see Swami Yatiswarananda, *Meditation and Spiritual Life* (Bangalore: Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, 1979).

[113] Jung's essay can be found in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, vol. 9i of the *Collected Works*.

[114] Swami Yatiswarananda, *The Ideal of Superconscious Experience in Meditation and Spiritual Life* (Bangalore: Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, 1979), p. 18.

[115] *Ibid*., pp. 18–19.

[116] Jung wrote about the psychological types from 1913 to 1936 in four papers that are contained in volume 6 of *Collected Works*. The typologies are explained through four basic functions of thinking, feeling, sensing, and intuition, which combine in particular ways to produce the psychological orientation of an individual. The conscious and unconscious attitude of a particular psychological type, the dominant and inferior functions it holds, governs the dynamics of one's typology.

[117] Jung, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga*, pp. 65 and 67.

[118] In this regard, Jung explained what the unconscious stood for in relation to the Eastern idea of superconsciousness. In a letter written to W. Y.

Evans-Wentz in 1938, he said, “The nature of the psyche that reaches beyond my consciousness is essentially unknown to me. Therefore one aptly calls it the unconscious.” Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, 248–250.

[119] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 226.

[120] The Mysore Study Circle was part of the Ramakrishna Ashram, in Mysore, where education on Vedanta philosophy was imparted to the young inducted monks of the order. In the beginning, the Ramakrishna Ashram in Mysore, India, was patronized by the Maharaja of Mysore, who had interests in spiritual philosophy.

[121] The Eleventh International Congress of Psychology was held at the Sorbonne, Paris, July 25–28, 1937, immediately before the Ninth Congress of Philosophy.

[122] Information on Iyer, Brunton, and Jung is from Annie Cahn Fung, “Paul Brunton: A Bridge between India and the West,” a doctoral thesis presented to the Department of Religious Anthropology, University of Sorbonne, Paris, 1992. Paul Brunton is known for his book *A Search in Secret India*, published in 1935, a popular travelogue of that period.

[123] Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*, p. 78.

[124] V. Subramanya Iyer, *The Philosophy of Truth* (Mysore: The Ramakrishna Mission, 1955), pp. 125 and 129.

[125] Mark Scorelle, editor, *Advaita: The Truth of Non-Duality*, in the words of V. Subrahmanya Iyer, from the posthumous collections of Paul Brunton (Rhinebeck, NY: Epigraph Books, 2009), p. 243. Paul Brunton’s real name was Raphael Hurst, and as an avid traveler, he had criss-crossed the subcontinent in the thirties and befriended many spiritual gurus. For some time, he was also a member of the Theosophical Society. He lived in the ashram of Ramana Maharshi of Tiruvanamali. He knew firsthand about the holy men of India more than any other contemporary traveler and recorded his experiences with Ramana Maharshi in his writings.

[126] In a letter to B. Cohen in 1934, Jung wrote: “There is an essential difference between Western and Eastern mentality, in consequence of which we cannot directly take over Oriental teachings and methods without impairing our own psyche. I am convinced from my own experience of Orientals that they have never misunderstood this critical attitude of mine as European snobbery.” Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 159–160.

[127] “I sincerely hope that I shall see you again in India.” Jung, *Letters*,

Vol. 1, p. 235.

CHAPTER 3

HOW THE JOURNEY BEGAN

JUNG AND BRITISH INDIA

> We see in the West a tremendous development of Europe's technological and scientific tendencies, and in the Far East an awakening of all those spiritual forces which, in Europe, these tendencies hold in check. The power of the West is material, that of the East ideal.
>
> —C. G. Jung, "Woman in Europe"

"Homunculus in the Retort"

The distant thoughts and impressions of the East would have slaked Jung's interests, perhaps. He was not an oriental scholar, nor did he have any particular desire to disseminate his psychology in the East. Jung's inquiries into Eastern philosophy and religion were in support of his psychological explorations. His connection with India was notional, and he did not feel compelled to encounter India beyond these margins. After his African expedition of 1925, Jung's attitude toward journeys had undergone a change.[1] He was less enthused about seeing distant lands than he had been before, because he realized that his own Swiss land had much to offer. In fact, after the Bugishu expedition of 1925, Jung had not undertaken any major expedition except a Mediterranean cruise in 1933.

Yet India was not a casual affair for Jung. He had conducted inquiries into the religious philosophy of the East, inspired by the writings of Schopenhauer, Goethe, Leibniz, and Eckhart. Knowledge of Eastern religious texts had strengthened his understanding of the collective unconscious, and he had discovered that the goals of analytical psychology were analogous to

the religious and spiritual ideals of the East. A league of extraordinary friendships had turned his attention eastward time and again. While the particulars of these associations were not known to all, Jung's leanings toward the East were well recognized. And although a journey to India was not on Jung's agenda, he was not averse to it either.

Toward the latter part of 1937, possibly before the onset of autumn, Jung received an invitation. Analytical psychology had broken new ground in the West, but it was unheard of in India. He had returned from America after delivering the Terry Lectures and was immersed in reading alchemical texts when the particulars of the journey became known to him.[2]

> By that time I had read a great deal about Indian philosophy and religious history, and was deeply convinced of the value of Oriental wisdom. But I had to travel in order to form my own conclusions, and remained within myself like a homunculus in the retort.[3]

Jung did not explain the exact significance of the homunculus in this context, and so it is pertinent to see how he viewed it in his other writings. He had come upon the figure of the homunculus in Goethe's *Faust* and in Zosimos's writings.[4] In 1932, during the Kundalini seminars, Jung had referred to the homunculus and compared it to the symbol of the *ajna* chakra.[5]

> One could become such an impossible detached thing that one no longer touches the earth. One would be as creative as a being with golden wings in a globe or an egg—completely detached. I have really seen such a representation. You remember, the ajña cakra is the mandala with the two petals, which looks like the winged seed of certain trees . . . so one gets the impression of something that really has taken to wings. And I think that the idea of the winged egg, or the homunculus in the second part of Faust, the artificial little man that flies about in his retort, is really the anticipation of such a possibility—a man who has created himself again in a new form, as the old alchemist produced a little man in his retort.[6]

Metaphorically, the winged, diminutive, and synthesized being, cut off from his surroundings, may have signified Jung's own state of mind before the journey. The distant orb of the East stoked his appetite for adventure and filled him with anticipation about new possibilities. The homunculus was a familiar figurative image for Jung. He had carved a homunculus on a stone in 1951 with an inscription in Greek and placed it on one side of the Bollingen house.[7] Jung had also referred to the homunculus in "The Transformation Symbolism in the Mass":

> Zosimos sees himself as a homunculus, or rather the unconscious represents him as such, as an incomplete, stunted, dwarfish creature who is made of some heavy material (lead or

> bronze) and thus signifies the “hylical man.” Such a one is dark and sunk in materiality. He is essentially unconscious, and therefore in need of transformation and enlightenment.[8]

Jung seemed to have looked upon the homunculus here as an unconscious being who is in a “twilight state of consciousness” and in need of enlightenment.[9] The stunted homunculus, symbolic of an undeveloped psyche, may have signified Jung’s nebulous feelings about India and his unpreparedness for the journey on the whole.[10] In Latin, *homunculus* means “miniature man,” and alchemically he also represents a dark and heavy metallic being. The pensive demeanor of Zosimos contrasts with the buoyant mood of the winged entity that Jung had described earlier. Even if Jung was filled with a sense of adventure about the journey, he may have been weighed down by other concerns. It is possible that Jung had consulted the *I Ching* before the voyage and that its counsel had not been propitious.[11] This may have evoked mixed feelings in him and made him pensive before the journey. Jung could not have had any idea of what the journey entailed, but he had an inkling of something untoward in it. He advised his pupils to be prepared for the worst.[12] Despite his misgivings about what could transpire during the tour, Barbara Hannah recounts that Jung was reasonably composed before his departure.[13] Unlike his journey to Africa in 1925, when he had done extensive groundwork before his tour (learning Swahili, for instance), Jung did nothing special before his travel to India. He even refused to be inoculated against tropical diseases. He felt that the journey was not of his making, but he was willing to test his fate and undertake it. Whatever his preoccupations, he was resolute about undertaking it and plunged into his alchemical readings once onboard.[14]

The Scientific Legacy of India

Although Jung considered the East to be a wellspring of spiritual knowledge, his invitation to visit India came from the newfound quarters of Indian science. Circumstances converged curiously to bring about two invitations for him. Three of the oldest Indian universities founded under the British intended to confer the prestigious degree *honoris causa* on Jung. In addition, he was invited to participate in the Silver Jubilee Congress of the Indian Science Congress Association. Jung had no formal links with these bodies, but he acceded to the requests.[15]

Jung's opening remarks about the journey in his reminiscences lead to a curious mesh of facts. The University of Calcutta was established in 1857 and did not commemorate its silver jubilee celebrations in 1938.[16] How did Jung construe this as "celebrations connected with the twenty-fifth anniversary" of the university? While everything points to random error, an inadvertent mix-up, a routine probe brought up another slice of history surrounding Jung's visit.

On September 4, 1935, at the Norwich annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, a petition was submitted to the General Committee. The petitioner was Professor J. N. Mukherjee, a representative of the Indian Science Congress Association. The Indian scientific body, founded in 1913, was planning to hold its silver jubilee in 1938 and was contemplating inviting a scientific delegation from Britain and Europe to take part in these celebrations. Professor Mukherjee and Professor S. P. Agharkar, secretaries of the Indian Science Congress Association, had been deputed to convey this proposal and negotiate the required permissions with the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Thus, it was not the University of Calcutta that had its silver jubilee in 1938, but the Indian Science Congress Association.

The Indian Science Congress Association was modeled on the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The latter was founded in York in September 1831, driven by the sentiment that Britain had severely compromised its intellectual and scientific interests owing to its protracted war activities.[17] Among other things, the association went on to inspire the inception of similar institutions elsewhere. One among them was the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, founded in Calcutta in 1876 by a physician named Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar.[18] This body was an early catalyst for scientific developments in India. The threads of scientific inquiry were picked up from here by C. V. Raman, one of India's foremost scientific luminaries, whose experiments with light subsequently propelled him and Indian science into worldwide prominence.[19] One of the institutions that evolved from the original body was the Indian Science Congress Association. Noting the dearth of scientific research in India, two European chemists, professors P. S. Macmahon and J. L. Simonsen, had mooted the idea of a scientific body modeled on the British Association. The founding of the Indian Science Congress Association boosted India's scientific morale greatly. The University College of Science and Technology was established

in Calcutta in 1914 immediately after the founding of the Indian Science Congress Association**.** The College of Science introduced applied physics, chemistry, mathematics, and botany into the curriculum soon after its inception. Stalwarts such as Jagadish Chandra Bose, P. C. Ray, and C. V. Raman strengthened these initiatives with their individual accomplishments, and the Indian science movement, which had begun very modestly in a nondescript neighborhood in Calcutta in 1876, scaled new heights as it took root on home soil.[20] By its twenty-fifth anniversary, the time was ripe for the association to plan a joint congressional session with the British Association.

Still, the proposal for a joint convention came as a surprise to the British body.[21] The British Association had never before been invited to participate in the proceedings of an overseas scientific body and never from any of Her Majesty's colonial outposts. The Governing Committee of the British Association perceived the uniqueness of the offer and directed its council to study the proposal and proceed with appropriate negotiations. At the annual meeting in Blackpool the following year, 1936, the council reported that a formal invitation from the Indian Science Congress had been received and formally accepted. The mutually agreed dates for the congress were set from January 3 to January 8, 1938.

Thus, through an unlikely turn of events, the silver jubilee celebrations of the Indian Science Congress Association became the setting for Jung's momentous journey to the East. Although he had been invited to the celebrations of the Indian Science Congress Association and the special convocations of the three universities, Jung was oblivious of the developments that had unfolded in the educational and scientific domain in colonial India.[22] He later circumvented many details of his visit; this is understandable given the fact that he was unfamiliar with the historical setting from whence his invitation had emerged. What did Jung overlook and how did it impact his journey subsequently?

The Backdrop of the Silver Jubilee Congress

The broader scenario of the 1930s gives the reader an insight into Jung's links with India. The setting of the Science Congress locates his journey historically and tells us what actually transpired during his visit. The social and educational scenario in India had undergone a radical transformation during the early decades of the twentieth century. As a thriving colonial hub,

Calcutta had witnessed the Bengal Renaissance fostered by the educational and social vision of Raja Rammohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, two of modern India's foremost social reformers.[23] A protracted struggle with the conservative Hindu leaders of Calcutta had made way for English education, replacing vernacular Sanskrit; this move changed the educational and cultural ethos of India in a fundamental way.[24] The founding of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science in 1876 was in sync with many of these broader developments. Among other things, the scientific developments encouraged a number of Indians to head westward in search of higher education. Many of these newly returned, Western-educated scientists were at the helm of the Silver Jubilee Congress in 1938.[25] The establishment of professional educational bodies, training in modern scientific education, and the setting up of learned societies transformed the social and cultural fabric of India significantly. Jung would encounter these emancipated, acculturated Indians during his visit and refer to their cerebral and intellectual character in his reminiscences.[26]

The University of Calcutta had been modeled on the University of London, and the governor-general of India was deemed its chancellor. The university was closely aligned with the Indian Science Congress Association because several members of the association headed significant departments at the university. Stalwarts such as Ashutosh Mukherjee, C. V. Raman, and P. C. Ray shouldered key responsibilities in both places, and the scientific association was virtually an extension of the university.[27] It was not unusual then that both these institutions would decide to host their annual conventions around the same time, especially since the Silver Jubilee Congress promised to bring a large number of European luminaries to India for the first time. The annual convention of the Indian Science Congress Association and the annual convocation of the University of Calcutta were held during the same period, resulting in an overlap of names and protocols.[28] Jung mistook the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee Congress to be the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University of Calcutta. Even so, it is curious that for an inveterate scientific man like Jung, the Indian Science Congress Association seemed to have evoked very few memories of its own.[29]

Unknown to Jung, by the 1930s psychology had made distinct inroads into Indian academia. The Indian Psychoanalytical Society, affiliated with the International Society for Psychoanalysis, had been formed in 1922 under the

leadership of Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose and at the behest of Sigmund Freud.[30] Girindrasekhar Bose was an early aspirant in the field of experimental psychology in India.[31] He had completed his medical training and postgraduate studies in experimental psychology from the University of Calcutta in 1917 and had been treating mental patients for some time.[32] By 1921, he had received his doctoral degree and had been appointed a lecturer in the newly founded Department of Psychology. During his long tenure, he succeeded in introducing psychoanalysis into the curriculum of Calcutta University, established a psychological clinic on the premises of Carmichael Medical College in Calcutta and a hospital for the mentally ill (Lumbini Park).[33] Bose also conducted psychological experiments independently, wrote, taught at the university, and treated mental patients on a regular basis.[34] It is not surprising, therefore, that Bose has been hailed as the father of Indian psychoanalysis for his pioneering efforts in popularizing mental health in India at a time when mental ailments were considered anathema in Indian society.[35]

The most astonishing among Bose's feats was that in the course of his long career he initiated a chain of correspondence with Sigmund Freud in Vienna.[36] Bose forwarded his doctoral thesis to Freud and shared his experimental findings with him, challenging some of Freud's own conclusions on repression. Although Bose's basic premises of repression were in line with Freud's ideas, he proposed his own theory of opposite wishes and the concept of a theoretical ego. Freud would not accept Bose's newfangled ideas readily.[37] But their correspondence continued despite these differences, and in 1922 Bose was invited by Freud to be the coeditor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.[38] Freud's enthusiasm in relating to Bose came from his delight in knowing that psychoanalysis had burgeoned in the distant precincts of the East, a land he was barely acquainted with.[39] Living in Zürich, Jung was, needless to say, oblivious of these developments in Indian psychology and of Freud's special links in India.



Figure 3.1: Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, founder of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, president of the Psychology Session, Indian Science Congress of 1938. Professor Bose wrote to Jung in Zürich in 1938. Credit: Photograph courtesy Indian Psychoanalytical Society, 14 Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta – 700009.

As one who spearheaded psychology as a science in the Indian academy, Bose was proud of the achievements of Indian psychology.[40] Experimental psychology had been introduced in undergraduate and postgraduate courses of Calcutta University and the first psychological laboratory had been established in 1916 in Calcutta, followed by another one in Mysore.[41] In keeping with the growing academic interests, societies such as the Indian Psychological Association had been established, and several experiments and researches on psychology were being conducted in the fields of educational psychology, social psychology, and abnormal psychology. Bose lauded these initiatives in the presidential address that he delivered at the congress.[42] The Indian Science Congress Association, affiliated with thirteen scientific disciplines, had incorporated psychology as a science in 1925. Just like the scientific disciplines that were following in the footsteps of British science,

Indian psychology too was being modeled on dominant theoretical models of the West.[43]

Jung's Invitations to India

It is surprising how Jung came to be associated with the congressional celebrations of 1938 given his insignificant links with Indian academia and his virtual ignorance about the developments that had taken place in Indian psychology.[44] The British Association report gives some description of the pro forma of the invitations. The nature of collaboration between the Indian and British associations necessitated some protocols, and the task of issuing invitations was taken up by both scientific fraternities.

> The Indian Association presented to the British Association lists of scientific representatives whose presence was specially desired. The Council of the British Association appointed a Committee to supervise invitations and arrangements generally, and under the direction of that Committee the General Secretaries issued invitations to persons named as above by the Indian Association, to members of the British Association who had occupied sectional chairs or other high offices, and to certain others whose attendance was desirable in order to assure proper representation of departments of Science specially appropriate to India. The Indian Association itself issued direct a limited number of invitations, principally to representatives from European countries. The number of invited delegates who accepted invitations was 65, and with the addition of relatives of some of these and certain other members the total number of the visiting party was 101.[45]

Jung's invitation was two-pronged. A few members of the delegation had been invited by three of the nation's oldest universities, in Calcutta, Allahabad, and Benares, for conferring the degree *honoris causa*. Among those who were to be honored were Sir James Jeans (president of the Joint Session of the Congress), Sir Arthur Eddington, and Jung.[46] Jung's second invitation was from the Indian Science Congress Association where, along with twelve others, he was to have bestowed upon him an honorary lifetime membership.[47]

The complete list of invited members can be seen in the Indian Science Congress report, which shows Jung's name clearly, but as to who issued this invitation nothing is certain. No letter of invitation from either the British Association or the Indian Science Congress Association could be traced in Jung's volume of correspondence housed at ETH Zürich.[48] Given the fact that Jung was not very familiar with the academic fraternities in India, it is unlikely that his name was suggested by any member of the Indian Science

Congress Association. Jung had a long history of association with the British medical fraternities in the early 1900s, and we can gauge that his invitation may have originated from British quarters.[49]

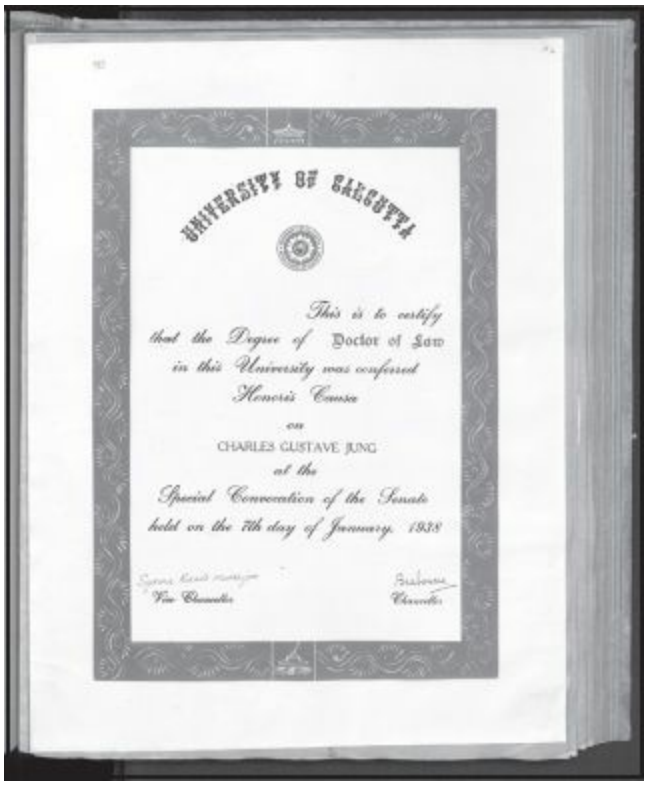

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
This is to certify
that the Degree of Doctor of Law
in this University was conferred
Honoris Causa
on
CHARLES GUSTAVE JUNG
at the
Special Convocation of the Senate
held on the 7th day of January 1938

Figure 3.2: Degree *honoris causa*— granted in absentia. Credit: Jung Family Archive.

Jung and England

According to William McGuire, Jung's interest in England was stirred through the English language.[50] Jung had learned some English while he was at Burghölzli in the early 1900s. In 1903, when he traveled to England for the first time, he employed a tutor to learn the language. Jung was proficient in Latin, French, and German, but mastering English added a unique dimension to his work. In addition to reaching a wider English-speaking audience through his writings and talks, he found that English brought him recognition in Britain and America; his affinity for the British stemmed from this. He once told the Anglo-American analyst Esther Harding that he gave his seminars in English because "the English and Americans were the first to recognize me and the value of my work when I was not recognized by my own people."

It was not just language that played a role in cementing Jung's relations with Britain. In the postwar period, psychoanalysis had grown into a dynamic medical discipline in Britain, and at the turn of the century London had become the hub of a burgeoning psychoanalytic fraternity.[51] Ernest Jones, Maurice Nicoll, and Montague David Eder were regulars at the British Medical Association. Jung's initial forays into Britain were tentative and low-key. A translation of his *Theory of Psychoanalysis* triggered the process, but Jung's rift with Freud in 1913 clouded these initial efforts. When Ernest Jones took the lead in championing Freud's ideas, Jung was sidelined from mainstream psychoanalysis. Montague Eder joined Jones to establish the London Psychoanalytical Society, and Jung's growing differences with Freud distanced him further from the International Psychoanalytical Association.[52] However, the scenario was not all that bleak; when he began presenting his papers at the Psycho-Medical Society in London and at the International Medicine Congress, he found that his ideas garnered enough attention. It was sometime during that period that Jung introduced the term *analytical psychology* to differentiate his ideas from Freud's psychoanalysis.

The period from 1903 to the decade of the 1930s, when Jung was engaged in transmitting his ideas in Britain, was also the time when he was inquiring into the religious and cultural texts of the East. By early 1920, there was enough interest generated about his work to establish the C. G. Jung Analytical Club in London in 1922, where Eleanor Bertine, Constance Long, H. G. Baynes, and Esther Harding took up leading roles—all of them had become dedicated followers of Jung and analytical psychology. Jung's friendship with H. G. Baynes was significant because Peter Baynes (as he was called) not only became his close assistant and collaborator in analytical practice but also translated some of his critical works into English and accompanied him to Africa in 1925.

The defining moment of Jung's relations with the British were the Tavistock seminars held at the Institute of Medical Psychology in 1935. The lectures confirmed Jung's stature in the field of analytical psychology. Tavistock was the official headquarters of the British Medical Association and a prominent center for psychological studies. Jung's lectures were attended by a group of two hundred physicians, among them Peter Baynes, Michael Fordham, E. A. Bennet, and W. R. Bion. Jung valued his affiliations with the British and was, on the whole, appreciative of the English culture.[53] This mutual affinity and regard culminated in Jung being conferred the

prestigious degree *honoris causa* at Oxford in 1938, after his return from India. Jung's commemorations in India appeared to be a prelude to the honors that he was to receive from the British government a few months later. That Jung's invitation to India could have stemmed from his association with the British can be surmised from this backdrop.

Fowler McCormick—Jung's Lone Traveling Companion

In the provisional list of invitees published in the Indian Science Congress report from 1938, List A with eighty-nine eminent scientists from England does not include Jung's name. In List B, names of thirteen delegates invited from nations other than England are found; Jung's name figures there as professor of psychology, University of Zürich, alongside that of Mr. Fowler McCormick of International Harvester Trust Co., Chicago.[54] The story of Jung in India would be incomplete without an account of Fowler McCormick, who was Jung's sole companion in his passage to India. Indeed, the journey may not have taken place at all had Fowler not made himself available to accompany Jung in 1937. Jung had returned from America in late October after delivering his Terry Lectures, and it is possible that plans of visiting India had been firmed up with Fowler at that time.

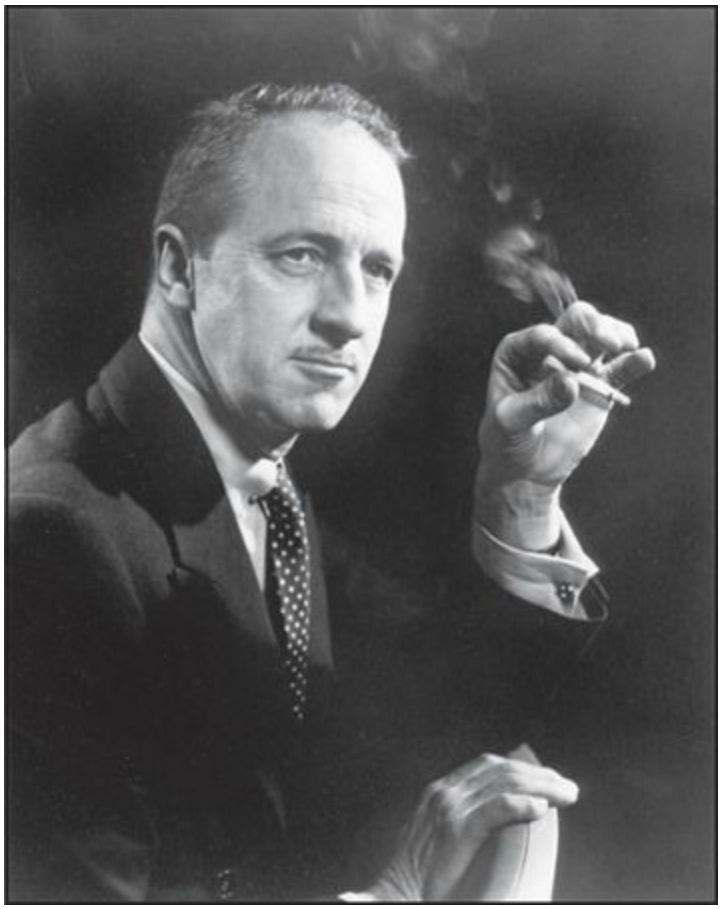


Figure 3.3: Fowler McCormick, son of Edith Rockefeller and Harold McCormick, accompanied Jung on his journey to India in 1937–38. Credit: Wisconsin Historical Society, Image ID: 34872.

Fowler McCormick had a long history of association with Jung. Fowler's mother, Edith Rockefeller McCormick, was the daughter of John D. Rockefeller, founder of the Standard Oil Company and known as one of the wealthiest men in the world. Edith had married the heir of another wealthy family of Chicago, Harold Fowler McCormick of International Harvester. In 1912, Jung was asked by the Rockefellers to treat Edith, who had been unwell after the demise of her daughter. On Jung's advice, she came to Zürich, and accompanying her on her first trip to Switzerland was her fourteen-year-old son, Fowler.[55]

Over the long period of time that Edith lived in Zürich for her analysis, she was closely involved with analytical psychology and became one of its major benefactors. Fowler came to know Jung closely as a result of his family's proximity to Jung. In later years, he remained close to Jung and often traveled from Chicago to Zürich to meet him. So close was Fowler's affinity with Switzerland that he once recounted to E. A. Bennet a dream

wherein he saw his life hanging, mid-air, between the two continents, Europe and America.[56] Jung had earlier planned for Fowler to join him on the African expedition in 1925, but those plans had been foiled by Fowler's father, Harold McCormick.[57] This time, Fowler dealt with all hurdles and prepared to travel with Jung. At the robust age of thirty-eight, he was a fit traveling companion for undertaking a voyage of several thousand miles across tropical seas and a rigorous inland tour of the Indian subcontinent.

While the exact details of Fowler's invitation to the Science Congress are untraceable, it is a fact that his family had extensive links with India during the colonial era. John D. Rockefeller, Fowler's iconic grandfather, was famous not only for his astonishing acumen for creating wealth, but also for his pioneering work in philanthropy. Legend has it that Rockefeller met Swami Vivekananda in 1893 when the latter had come to Chicago to attend the Parliament of Religions. Seeing an anguished and troubled Rockefeller, Vivekananda had remarked that his huge, amassed wealth had to be given away for a larger cause, for he was only a custodian of this wealth and not its true owner.[58] It was a defining moment for John Rockefeller. The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913, followed by a host of other charities founded in support of medical and scientific research, education, and health-care services. At the time of Jung's journey, the foundation was engaged in funding several welfare activities in India under the aegis of the British government in the fields of public health, medical science, infrastructure development, and allied ventures. Among the institutions that the foundation was supporting was the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Calcutta and a host of lesser-known medical research and programs launched under the British government.[59] The approximate value of the foundation's work in India exceeded many thousands of dollars in the year 1930 alone. As one of the key sponsors for scientific research in colonial India, the Rockefeller Foundation had a vital interest in the deliberations of the Silver Jubilee Science Congress of 1938.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the list of non-European delegates of the congress also included the name of Dr. Selskar Gunn, vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation.[60] Dr. Gunn is mentioned as representing the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Thus India was not entirely unfamiliar territory for Fowler. In whatever way his invitation came about, as Jung's sole traveling companion and Rockefeller progeny, Fowler

was an esteemed presence at the Silver Jubilee Science Congress and was privy to all that happened during the journey. No written record of Fowler's experiences of the journey exists—yet another example of how this momentous encounter was allowed to drift from the annals of public history.[61]

Preparations for the Silver Jubilee Science Congress

Colossal groundwork preceded the congressional celebrations. The two associations attempted to showcase the best of East and West. For India, this was an occasion to demonstrate its burgeoning scientific status, while for Britain, already facing flak for its imperial transgressions, it was an opportunity to salvage its sagging reputation. A comprehensive program for the visiting delegates was charted, and news about the congress was widely publicized in local and international news dailies. J. N. Mukherjee, the newly appointed general secretary of the Indian Science Congress Association, wrote:

> The Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress which is to take place at Calcutta in January, '38, is a unique event in the history of the progress of modern science in India. It indicates that the contributions by scientific workers in India both in quality and quantity have attained appreciable dimensions. What is more, it points to the deep roots the spirit of scientific inquiry has taken throughout the length and breadth of this ancient land of ours. It is indeed a special occasion, being the first time that the British Association in its long and eventful history will hold a joint session with another body. This gesture of recognition of the merits of Indian science is very welcome to scientific workers in India.[62]

Historically, this was the first time the British Association had agreed to depute a large delegation to attend a science congress convention overseas in one of its colonies. It was also the first time that the Indian Science Congress Association was to host a foreign delegation while conducting its annual convention. The sophisticated, highbrow interface conducted against the backdrop of a rising nationalist wave affirmed India's growing stature in science.

The preparations for the congress were exhaustive and wide-ranging. Apart from the invitations, the Indian association had to coordinate numerous cultural events, tours, lectures, public talks, and official functions. It had set up a Local Reception Committee under Shymaprasad Mookerjee, then vice-chancellor of Calcutta University, to oversee the celebratory events.[63] The

committee's tasks included coordination of logistics, hospitality and welcome functions, get-togethers, and all other particulars related to the celebrations. An extensive range of facilities had been arranged to make the visitors feel at home. The larger part of the financial burden for hosting the congress was entrusted to the Indian group, and huge sums of money had been raised from local donations to meet the exorbitant costs of the program.[64]

One of the key aides appointed to manage the celebratory events was Professor J. N. Mukherjee, who had earlier clinched the agreement with the British Association at Norwich. Professor Mukherjee was a well-known figure in Indian academia, having worked at the University of London under Professor F. G. Donnan. Mukherjee had pioneered the study of colloid chemistry in India and founded the Indian Chemical Society in 1924. The British Empire conferred on him the title of commander in 1943 for his exemplary contributions in the field of chemistry, an example of how some of the key scientific personages at the congress, nurtured under the British government, steered the affairs of Indian academia in the 1930s.

An important agenda of the organizing committee was the conduct of a special celebratory tour for the visiting delegates. The special tour was organized with the view of giving the foreign delegation a glimpse of India's rich history as well as providing an occasion for all delegates to mingle informally during the congressional gathering. As an aid to the historical tour, a guidebook of the places to be visited was prepared and a special train was commissioned to carry the congressional delegation from Bombay to different parts of India. Jung's official itinerary during the first leg of his journey included this special tour, which he participated in when he arrived in India.

On Board the *Cathay*

> Of the party of 101 members, all except eleven either left England by the P&O steamer *Cathay* on November 26, 1937, or joined her at Marseilles after leaving England at the beginning of December and travelling overland. They reached Bombay early on December 17.[65]

Jung wrote in his private journal notes that he traveled on the P&O *Cathay*, reaching Aden from Marseille on December 11, 1937, and Bombay on December 16, 1937. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) was a shipping and trading company that the East India Company had

procured in 1830s. The *Cathay* was one of the twenty-one passenger ships that the P&O owned; it had more than two hundred first-class rooms with luxury facilities and was the preferred choice for the visiting delegation.

The atmosphere aboard the *Cathay* may not have induced Jung to come out of his self-imposed retreat. The ship was teeming with British and European members headed for the Silver Jubilee celebrations. They had boarded the ship not just for the congressional celebrations but also to see India, Her Majesty's veritable "Jewel in the Crown." The surrounding hubbub may have left Jung unimpressed; during his African expedition in 1925, Jung had seen a ship full of enthusiastic British tourists and had been amused by the way they entertained themselves with "silly deck games."[66] This time, however, the scenario was different. The travelers onboard the *Cathay* were scientists of extraordinary stature and rank. There was Sir James Jeans, president elect of the Silver Jubilee Science Congress and former president of the British Association; Sir Arthur Eddington, Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy from Cambridge; Dr. F. W. Aston; C. Spearman, professor emeritus of psychology at the University of London; and many other dignitaries.[67] Also among them was Professor R. A. Fisher, Galton Professor of Eugenics from University College, London, who had boarded the ship expressly to be in the company of the late Lord Rutherford and Carl Jung.[68] It is possible that Jung may have been introduced to several members of the delegation, but he made no mention of any scientist in his later reminiscences on India, nor did he shed any light on his encounters with the British scientific delegation in India in his writings. Whatever Jung may have felt in the midst of such an august gathering, he was preoccupied with the reading of Gerardus Dorneus's *Theatrum Chemicum*. Jung wrote about the humid climate and the dark-skinned lascars (sailors) in his journal. The voyage was on the whole uneventful, and two weeks passed quickly.[69] The Indian Science Congress Association welcomed the delegates in Bombay with special commemorative functions.

Upon arrival and completion of the welcome formalities, the delegation was expected to depart on the Peninsular Rail on a sightseeing tour. It was planned that the train that would take the visiting delegation across northern India for a celebratory tour would be the Punjab Limited, rolling stock of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. It had seven corridor coaches, with "compartments affording very comfortable living and sleeping accommodation for two persons each, two dining cars, a brake, a servants'

car and a commissariat car."[70] Thus, from the moment of his arrival, Jung was drawn into a whirlwind of activity. This set the mood of the tour, which Barbara Hannah described as "an extraverted rush" which Jung had to get accustomed to.[71] All else flowed from those very first moments in India.

NOTES

[1] Jung told Barbara Hannah that he would not be disappointed if his journey to India fell through at the last moment. See Barbara Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), p. 241. To Laurens van der Post, who had been persuading him to revisit Africa, Jung said, "I'm afraid after hobnobbing for months with witch-doctors . . . I was amazed on my return to Zürich, to find how many witch-doctors and how much witchcraft there was in it, and in the Swiss mountains and beyond!" See Laurens van der Post, *Jung and the Story of Our Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 55.

[2] Jung wrote: "The journey formed an intermezzo in the intensive study of alchemical philosophy on which I was engaged at the time. This had so strong a grip upon me that I took along the first volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum* of 1602, which contains the principal writings of Gerardus Dorneus." C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, edited by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 275.

[3] *Ibid*., 274–275. The analogy to the homunculus that Jung makes here may have been prompted by his reading Dorneus's *Theatrum Chemicum*.

[4] Jung's writings on the visions of Zosimos in alchemy and dream symbolism can be found in volumes 11 and 13 of the *Collected Works.*

[5] The symbol of the *ajna* chakra, the sixth of the *yogachakras,* that Jung was referring to denotes the "third eye," which symbolizes the seat of higher consciousness. It is located in the area between the eyebrows, and it is represented by an image of a winged seed. Jung's reference was taken from Arthur Avalon's translation of the *yogasutras*.

[6] C. G. Jung, *Psychology of Kundalini Yoga: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1932 by C. G. Jung,* edited by Sonu Shamdasani (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 108.

[7] "He told me of the stone he had just carved. It stands on a pedestal at the

side of the house, near the new wall . . . He had the stone put in place and has carved three faces of it. On the front is an inscription in Greek characters and a small figure, a *homunculus*." See E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the Years 1946–1961* (Zürich: Daimon, 1985), p. 31.

[8] C. G. Jung, "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass" (1954) in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 272.

[9] "The idea of man as a microcosm, representing in all his parts the earth or the universe, is a remnant of an original psychic identity which reflected a twilight state of consciousness." C. G. Jung, "The Visions of Zosimos" (1954) in *Alchemical Studies*, vol. 13, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), § 122. Jung had written this essay in 1938. It was based on the third-century Gnostic texts of Zosimos of Panapolis, an alchemist and mystic whose works are the oldest-known books on alchemy.

[10] Jung later wrote in his reminiscences that "India affected me like a dream, for I was and remained in search of myself, of the truth peculiar to myself." Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 275.

[11] For details on Jung's consultation of the *I Ching* before traveling to Africa, see Blake W. Burleson, *Jung in Africa* (New York: Continuum, 2005), p. 23. The *I Ching* or *Book of Changes* is an ancient Chinese oracle that Jung had studied and experimented with since 1920. In it, he had found unexpected parallelism between psychological and physical phenomena. It inspired him to work on the concept of synchronicity with Austrian physicist Wolfgang Pauli. See C. G. Jung, "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle" (1952), in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, vol. 8, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960).

[12] "I do not know if Jung cast an I Ching for this journey, as he had before going to Africa, but I certainly got the impression, when I saw him for the last time before he departed, that he was reckoning with the possibility that he might not return." Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*, p. 241.

[13] "He told me that day what a different attitude he had toward this coming journey. 'I look forward immensely to experiencing India and Indian culture for myself,' he said, 'yet should it suddenly be cancelled I should not

really be disappointed.’” *Ibid*., p. 242.

[14] In fact, Jung was so preoccupied with his reading during the voyage that he recorded the dates and other particulars of the journey erroneously in his travel notes. These notes show his arrival date in Bombay as December 15. Per official records, the delegation reached Bombay on December 17, 1937. In his reminiscences, Jung says that his invitation was from the University of Calcutta for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations (see Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 274), while in a letter to Erich Neumann in 1938, Jung says: “where I was invited to the 25th anniversary of the Indian Science Congress Association in Calcutta” (see C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1: 1906–1950*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992], p. 243). Jung also mistook the particulars of Raman Pillai, a man who he thought was a follower of Ramana Maharshi, in a letter to G. Mees (see Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 478).

[15] No known links between Jung and the Indian Science Association have emerged to date. Later developments in Calcutta will affirm this.

[16] For a history of the University of Calcutta, see P. C. Bagchi, ed., *The Second City of the Empire* (Calcutta: The Local Secretaries, University College of Science, 1938). Since Jung quoted the source of his invitation as the University of Calcutta in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, this is taken as a fact in many biographies and writings on Jung. For example, Claudia Guggenbühl, in her research paper “Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta,” says that possibly Jung’s invitation came from the Department of Psychology of the University of Calcutta, which was celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations; see Claudia Guggenbühl, *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta: The History of Their Encounter* (Heidelberg: SavifaDok, 2008), p. 218; accessed at http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/savifadok/volltexte/2008/149/. A similar description of Jung’s Indian visit is given by Sonu Shamdasani in Jung, *Psychology of Kundalini Yoga*, p. xxvii.

[17] The objective of the association was declared by William Vernon Harcourt, chairman of the Philosophical Society, in these words: “A British Association for the Advancement of Science, having for its objects, to give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to obtain a greater degree of national attention to the objects of science, and a removal

of those disadvantages which impede its progress, and to promote the intercourse of the cultivators of science with one another and with foreign philosophers." See www.britishscienceassociation.org.

[18] Mahendra Lal Sircar aspired to instill a scientific spirit in Indian education. He was a visionary who championed the cause of women's education and pioneered scientific education in India. For a description of the scientific climate in India, see "Indian Science Association," *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 3, 1938, p. 10.

[19] For information on C. V. Raman's life and work, see M. Vijayan, ed., "C. V. Raman, 1888 Centennial 1988," *Journal of the Indian Institute of Science* 68, nos. 11–12 (Nov./Dec. 1988). For scientific work conducted by research organizations in the colonial era and Raman's links with the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, see Bagchi, *The Second City of the Empire*, 176.

[20] For a comprehensive overview of Indian science, see David Arnold, "Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India," in *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3, part 5 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[21] The historical details about the Indian Science Congress of 1938 are taken from *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year), British Association for the Advancement of Science, Cambridge, August 17–24* (London: Office of the British Association, Burlington House, 1938).

[22] Jung writes: "Think of a man coming to Europe for the first time in his life; he spends some six to seven weeks travelling from Lisbon to Moscow and from Norway to Sicily, he does not understand a single European language except English and he has a most superficial knowledge of the peoples, their history, and their actual life . . . I am very much in the same position in daring to say anything about India." C. G. Jung, "The Dreamlike World of India" (1939), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), § 981.

[23] They were the earliest social reformers of Bengal in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who championed the causes of widow remarriage, female literacy, and the prohibition of Sati.

[24] The dogmatic Hindu ethos was replaced by modern scientific education, advocated by the British. Lord Macaulay said that it would

produce a class of persons, “Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect.” Bagchi, *The Second City of the Empire*, p. 96.

[25] One of the foremost to head westward for a scientific education was Dr. Aghorenath Chattopadhyay, father of Sarojini Naidu, the eminent freedom fighter and close aide of Gandhi. The trend of pursuing Western scientific education continues to dominate the Indian educational scene even today, although its history has lapsed from collective memory.

[26] Jung said, in his reminiscences, “India gave me my first direct experience of an alien, highly differentiated culture. Altogether different elements had ruled in my Central African journey; culture had not predominated. As for North Africa, I had never had the opportunity there to talk with a person capable of putting his culture into words. In India, however, I had the chance to speak with representatives of Indian mentality, and to compare it with the European.” Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 275.

[27] For more information on the Indian Science Congress Association, visit their official website, http://www.sciencecongress.nic.in.

[28] The Silver Jubilee Congress was held from January 3 to January 9, 1938. The annual convocation of the University of Calcutta was held on January 7, 1938. The convocation dinners and the Silver Jubilee Congress functions were also held during the same week in the city. This information can be found in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, 1938, Silver Jubilee Session* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939).

[29] Jung could not attend the congressional celebrations or the university convocation due to his illness. He referred to the scientific connection only obliquely. “India honored me with three doctorates, from Allahabad, Benares, and Calcutta—representatives of Islam, of Hinduism and of British-Indian medicine and science.” Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 280.

[30] In a letter to Freud in November 1921, Bose wrote: “You will be pleased to learn that I am now trying to have an Indian Psycho-Analytical Association at Calcutta affiliated to the International Association. A number of medical men and psychologists have interested themselves in the movement and we hope to start the Association by January next. I have been in communication with Dr Jones regarding the Association and he has given

me much practical and sound advice. I should very much like to have your suggestions on the point. I hope to send you in the near future a copy of the draft rules and regulations of the Association." T. C. Sinha, "Development of Psycho-Analysis in India," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 47 (1966): 429.

[31] Girindrasekhar Bose's life and work has been described by Christiane Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 94–108.

[32] "In 1917 [Bose] took his master's degree in experimental psychology from the University of Calcutta, being among the first batch of students of the University's newly opened department of psychology. In 1921 the University conferred on him the Doctor of Science degree for his thesis entitled 'The Concept of Repression.'" Sinha, "Development of Psycho-Analysis in India," p. 427.

[33] According to Hartnack, Calcutta University was one of the first institutions in the world where psychoanalysis was taught as part of the curriculum. See Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India*, p. 106.

[34] Bose authored twenty-six articles in Bengali periodicals. His first book, *Swapna* [*Dreams*] was published in 1928 and is closely based on Freud's theory of dreams. He introduced 134 psychological terms in Bengali in this first book and also based many of his writings on ancient Indian philosophical texts. For more on Bose's work, see Amit Ranjan Basu, "The Coming of Psychoanalysis in Colonial India: The Bengali Writings of Dr. Girindrashekhar Bose," Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Enreca Occasional Paper Series—Culture and the Disciplines: Papers from the Cultural Studies Workshops/Tapti Guha Thakurta, no. 5 (1999): 36–54. For an enlightened view of colonial psychiatry and Bose's life and work, see Ashis Nandy, *The Bonfire of Creeds: The Essential Ashis Nandy* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[35] See Salman Akhtar, *Freud along the Ganges: Psychoanalytic Reflections on the People and Culture of India* (New York: Other Press, 2005). Bose was regarded as a proverbial father figure in the academic circles of Calcutta in the colonial era. A nonagenarian psychiatrist in Calcutta, Dr. Dhiren Nandy, recounted to me how Bose had helped him choose psychology as a career when, as a young student at St. Xavier's College, he had approached him and sought his counsel. Hailing from an impoverished rural

household, Nandy had no means of supporting his education until Bose employed him as an assistant at the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital and asked him to pursue his studies in psychology at the University of Calcutta.

[36] Bose's correspondence with Freud, begun in 1921, has since been published in *The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in India: Bose-Freud Correspondence* (Calcutta: Indian Psychoanalytical Society, 1964).

[37] In a letter to Bose in 1933, Freud wrote: "As regards my own judgement which you ask for, I can only give you first impressions which are of no great value. It needs more time and effort to overcome the feeling of unfamiliarity when confronted with a theory so different from the one professed hitherto and it is not easy to get out of the accustomed ways of thinking." *The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in India*, p. 24.

[38] Ashis Nandy writes: "And Bose joined two others, Freud himself and August Aichhorn, as one of the only three psychoanalysts ever to be recognized as psychoanalysts on the basis of his self-analyses." See Nandy, *Bonfire of Creeds*, p. 358.

[39] Freud wrote: "My surprise was great that psychoanalysis should have met with so much interest and recognition in your far off country." *The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in India*, p. 2. Freud's response to Bose on receiving gifts from the Indian Psychoanalytical Society on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday: "The statuette is charming. I give it the place of honour on my desk. As long as I can enjoy life it will recall to my mind the progress of psycho-analysis, the proud conquest it has made in foreign countries and the kind feelings for me it has aroused in some of my contemporaries at least." *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[40] Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the doyen of Indian education and vice-chancellor of Calcutta University, had included psychology as an independent subject in the university's postgraduate program. Girindrasekhar Bose's opening address in the 1938 psychology session of the Silver Jubilee Congress was titled, "The Progress of Psychology in India during the Past Twenty Five Years," and outlined the significant developments of Indian psychology. See *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress*.

[41] The Mysore laboratory was headed by Dr. M. V. Gopalswami who had trained under Professor C. Spearman, professor emeritus of psychology at the University of London and an invited member of the Silver Jubilee Congress. Thus it was not only Freud who had developed links with Indian psychology

but also others like Spearman and C. S. Myers, who were both present at the Silver Jubilee Congress of 1938.

[42] See *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress*; see also the psychology proceedings, which outline the themes presented during the annual psychology session.

[43] Both Ashis Nandy and Christiane Hartnack have described the early developments of Indian psychoanalysis as an outcome of colonial educational policies. See Nandy, *Bonfire of Creeds*, pp. 339–393; and Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India*.

[44] Jung was acquainted with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Boshi Sen, and members of the Ramakrishna Order but with almost no other Indian academics before 1937.

[45] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year)*, p. xxviii.

[46] See http://www.caluniv.ac.in/About%20the%20university/honoris%20Causa.htm.

[47] See *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 47.

[48] In response to my queries about Jung's invitation to India, the Jung archives team at ETH Zürich informed me that no letter from the science congress officials, the British Association, or the British government had been found among Jung's unpublished letters. The Jung family, too, informed me that there was no such letter in the family collection. It is not yet known if this letter has been preserved anywhere else.

[49] Indeed, Jung himself had written that his invitation to visit India came from the British government. "My journey to India, in 1938, was not taken on my own initiative. It arose out of an invitation from the British Government of India to take part in the celebrations connected with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University of Calcutta." Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 274.

[50] This section on Jung's affinities with Britain is based on William McGuire, "Firm Affinities: Jung's Relations with Britain and the United States," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 40 (1995): 301–326.

[51] See R. D. Hinshelwood, "Psychoanalysis in Britain: Points of Cultural Access, 1893–1918," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 76 (1995): 135.

[52] Barbara Hannah gives her version of the interactions between Jung, Freud, and Jones in *Jung, His Life and Work.*

[53] Jung criticized Britain's imperial policies on one or two occasions and said that "the European invasion of the East was an act of violence on a grand scale. It has left us with the duty—noblesse oblige—of understanding the spirit of the East." But in general he was supportive of the British. Laurens van der Post describes Jung's fondness for the English character, and commented: "Indeed, there was something oddly English about his appearance," *Jung and the Story of Our Time*, pp. 45–46.

[54] "Delegates from abroad other than those representing the British Association" in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 44.

[55] William McGuire writes: "Jung returned to New York for lecture engagements in spring 1913, and when he sailed back to Europe he was accompanied by an entourage that included Mrs. McCormick, her son Fowler (then fourteen), his tutor, a boyhood chum, and sundry servants. The party settled into the most prestigious Zürich hotel, the Baur au Lac." McGuire, "Firm Affinities," p. 309.

[56] "The most striking of these was a dream in which he saw two aeroplanes weaving a cord (or rope) in the sky in such a way that they joined Europe and America. He saw this as a commentary upon his life, divided between the continents and somehow coming together, for he is constantly passing from one to the other." Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*, p. 57.

[57] See Burleson, *Jung in Africa*, p. 19.

[58] For the full story, see Marie Louise Burke, *Swami Vivekananda in the West: New Discoveries*, vol. 1 (Kolkata: Advaita Ashrama, 1983), pp. 487–488.

[59] The Rockefeller Foundation *Annual Report* (New York: Author, 1930), p. 16.

[60] "Indian Science Congress: Distinguished Delegates from Britain and the Continent," Associated Press of India, December 7, 1937, Calcutta; Raman Research Institute Digital Repository, accessed at http://hdl.handle.net/2289/222.

[61] Fowler McCormick's oral interview is housed at the C. G. Jung Biographical Archive, Center for the History of Medicine, Francis A. Countway Library, Boston. In it, McCormick has described some of his experiences traveling with Jung in India.

[62] J. N. Mukherjee, "Modern Science in India, Significance of Indo-

British Congress," *Times of India*, December 18, 1937, p. 4.

[63] Shymaprasad Mookerjee was a nationalist and the son of the legendary educator Ashutosh Mukherjee. He was a prominent presence in the Science Congress events in Calcutta.

[64] The complete financial outlay of the program can be found in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress*, pp. 51–59. The British Association report stated that "the Indian Science Congress Association placed at the disposal of the British Association a sum of £2,125, including a grant from the Government of India and contributions from other sources. The British Association collected from institutions, firms, and individuals in Great Britain a sum of £3,125, including a grant from the Government of India and contribution from other sources." See British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108 th Year)*, p. xxviii.

[65] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year)*, p. xxviii.

[66] Burleson, *Jung in Africa*, p. 29.

[67] For a full description of the scientific personages who participated in the Silver Jubilee Science Congress, see "British Delegates to Science Congress," *The Statesman*, January 4, 1938, p. 15.

[68] See A. R. P. Rao, "R. A. Fisher, Design Theory and the Indian Connection," *Current Science Supplement* 99, no. 3 (2010): 85.

[69] See "British Scientists in India: Warm Welcome in Bombay," *Times of India*, Educational Supplement, December 18, 1937, p. 18.

[70] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year)*, p. xxix.

[71] Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*, p. 243.

CHAPTER 4

THE VASTNESS OF A CONTINENT BEHIND

> The two greatest things of India, in my humble opinion, are the earth of the great mountain in the North and the spirit of Buddha in the South.
>
> —Carl Jung, in a letter to Boshi Sen, February 24, 1938

From Marseilles to Bombay

The Indian Science Congress events were conducted from December 17, 1937, to January 15, 1938.[1] Jung participated in most if not all of the congressional functions and stayed on in India after the main delegation departed. He toured southern India with Fowler McCormick and departed the shores of the subcontinent on February 2, 1938. From mid-December 1937 to early February 1938, Jung would have spent almost two months traveling across the country, covering more than six thousand miles by train and car.[2] It can be surmised from this that Jung experienced a great deal of India through such an exhaustive itinerary, much more than the pristine Himalayas and the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon that he refers to in his letter to Boshi Sen. That he chose to discount all of that is partly due to the way the journey shaped up and altered his impressions of India.

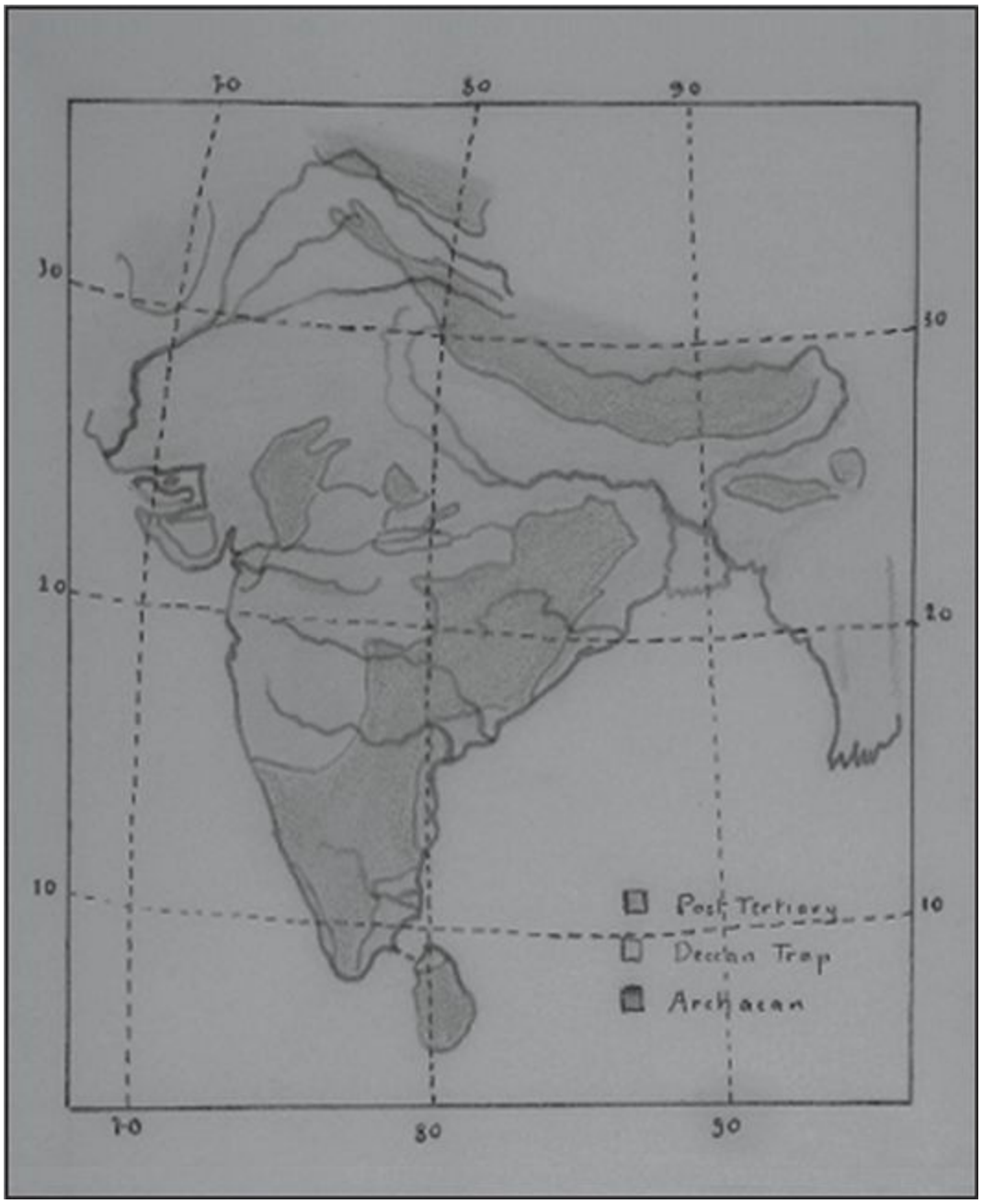


Figure 4.1: A map of India in Jung's collection, showing the physical features of the subcontinent. Credit: Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung.

Upon arrival, Jung and the scientific party were accorded a warm and friendly reception. The academic sessions of the congress were scheduled from January 3 to 9, 1938, but a party of 101 scientists had reached Bombay two weeks ahead of the scientific convention to take part in the preliminary events.[3] The prominent newspapers of the city reported the arrival of the delegation.

BRITISH SCIENTISTS IN INDIA Dec. 18, 1937

Warm Welcome in Bombay

Bombay gave a warm welcome on Friday morning to 94 eminent British and European scientists who have come to India to attend the jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress to be held in Calcutta early in January . . .

The delegation which is headed by Sir James Jeans, the great astrophysicist, disembarked from the mall steamer CATHAY, and it is doubtful if any vessel has ever carried a greater number of men of science and letters.

The delegation was accorded a warm and spontaneous welcome by the reception committee organised under the auspices of the University of Bombay, of which Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, the Vice-Chancellor, is chairman. Before the delegation landed individual members of the committee and professors from the many colleges in the city who were acquainted with members of the delegation boarded the CATHAY to welcome them and renew old friendships.

Welcome to India

The reception committee went on board and brought the delegation ashore. The scientists gathered on the lawn outside Ballard Pier station, and were formally welcomed to India by the Vice-Chancellor, and Sir James Jeans was garlanded by him. Sir James thanked the committee for the welcome accorded to the delegation and to him and said they were delighted to be in India. Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkataraman, the retiring president of the Indian Science Congress, and Dr. J. N Mukherji, General Secretary of the Congress, specially came to Bombay from Calcutta to receive the delegation.

Aim of Visit

Review of Progress of Indian Scientists

In an interview, Sir James Jeans, the leader of the delegation, said they had come to India to see the work of Indian scientists and the progress that had been made by them. The visit would be to the mutual advantage of India and the countries from which the delegation came, by the interchange of views and observations made in the next few weeks. He was glad that the reception committee had arranged their visits so as they could see a great part of India and expressed the delegation's gratitude to the committee for having done so.

Prof. P. G. H. Boswell, treasurer of the British Association, and Professor of Geology, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, speaking of the mission of the delegation in India, said: "The British Association have welcome very warmly the opportunity afforded by the invitation to send its delegation to India extended by the Indian Science Congress for the first time in its history of over a century."

Source: "British Scientists in India: Warm Welcome in Bombay," *Times of India*, Educational Supplement, December 18, 1937, p. 18.

Jung's private notes mention welcome greetings from Bahadurjee (Rao Bahadur Venkatraman) and a ritual garlanding.[4] Celebrations followed elsewhere in the city as the two scientific bodies congregated. Good camaraderie and fellowship prevailed among members—in whatever way Jung perceived this communion, he felt himself to be out of sync in his new

setting after his arrival.

Participation Mystique

The bonhomie and euphoria at the congressional gathering belied the harsh political climate that prevailed elsewhere in the country.[5] In an essay written in 1931, titled "Mind and Earth," Jung talked about *participation mystique* and the feeling of oneness that a child experiences in relation to its parents.[6] The parental imagos are important psychological constructs in a child's developmental process.

> This feeling is not just a sentiment, but an important psychological fact which Lévy-Bruhl, in an altogether different context has called *participation mystique*. The fact denoted by this not immediately understandable expression plays a great role in the psychology of primitives as well as analytical psychology. To put it briefly, it means *a state of identity in mutual unconsciousness*. Perhaps I should explain this further. If the same unconscious complex is constellated in two people at the same time, it produces a remarkable emotional effect, a projection, which causes either a mutual attraction or a mutual repulsion. When I and another person have an unconscious relation to the same important fact, I become in part identical with him, and because of this I orient myself to him as I would to the complex in question were I conscious of it.[7]

Although Jung defined *participation mystique* in the context of a child's psychological development, it is not difficult to see that the fellowship and goodwill that emerged at the congressional gathering was one of close kinship, similar to the notion of *participation mystique* that Jung had elaborated on.[8] It was unusual for a friendly and convivial relation between the scientific fraternities of both sides to exist in an anti-imperial environment; this alluded to the underlying complexity of that relationship. Outwardly, the Silver Jubilee Congress of 1938 was a harmonious gathering between British and Indian scientists, which this report in the *Times of India* aptly sums up:

> A characteristic of the Indian mind is the great affection and appreciation with which a teacher is held. Whatever controversial elements may be introduced into the mutual relationships of Britain and India in spheres where clash of interests make them perhaps unavoidable, in his field of scientific education and research, Indian workers carry an affectionate memory of the various eminent men of science in Britain and elsewhere, who have served them for generations as their teachers. It is a small but visible token of this recognition of their mutual reward that the Indian Science Congress Association and the British Association agreed to celebrate the Silver Jubilee session as a joint session of the two Associations.[9]

It was clear that the attraction between the British and Indian scientific fraternities was triggered by a shared enthusiasm for science, with the British clearly having impressed upon the Indians of their supremacy in this field. Many of the educational personages of that era who were at the helm of the Silver Jubilee Congress had close affiliations and friendly ties with their British counterparts, affirming that dominant political differences could be laid aside for the greater cause of science. The following observations were made about the congress in one of the local dailies before the congressional sessions commenced:

> The legend has come down to us that when the victorious Roman legions entered Syracuse in 212 BC, a soldier found Archimedes squatting on the ground in the marketplace in front of some geometrical figures which he had traced on sand, deeply absorbed in solving a mathematical problem. The soldier, disregarding Archimedes' request to keep clear of his circles and curves and probably recognising in the bent figure the man whose ingenuity and skill had enormously helped the Syracuseans in prolonging the siege, brought down his sabre, and cut off, in its prime, the life of possibly the greatest scientist of ancient times.
>
> Such incidents, in which fierce nationalism over-rode the claims of learning, have fortunately been rare in the history of mankind. Even in ancient and medieval times, when the general gloom of illiteracy and ignorance was pierced by a few light-rays of knowledge here and there, men of learning and science were respected and prized irrespective of their caste, creed or colour.[10]

Such a view probably arose from the fact that India aspired to be in league with the civilized nations of the world, and Britain believed that the catalyst for bringing about that change rested in her splendid scientific heritage. This set the tone of their mutual affinity and kinship in the midst of their overhanging political differences, creating between them an ineffable bond in an atmosphere predominated by political conflict. The large-scale adoption of British practices and policies in Indian governance, science, and industry fulfilled the dominant nationalist aspirations, for a nation devoid of scientific education and development would not be considered fit to govern its own people. Thus, in an intangible way, *participation mystique* bound the two sides together and rendered a peculiar tenor to the congressional environment.

There were other occasions in the cultural trajectory of British India when the mystique of participation was palpable. As a purebred Englishman, John Woodroffe showed an unusual affinity for the *yogasutras*. Although this enriched his inner world and initiated him into the rich and complex domain of Tantra philosophy, sparking his creative acumen and output, the

experience proved fatal for him eventually—respice finem. Woodroffe's fascination for India was the result of his unconscious identification with an alien culture. Although he attempted to rein in his zeal and redirect his energies to his Western ethos, Woodroffe was so strongly infused with Tantric ideals and thoughts that he was unable to disentangle himself from them and adapt to his life back home. Jung said that in such a scenario, the enhancement of consciousness often brings an end to the exotic, mystical relation that exists between the two sides.[11] Jung had witnessed how encounters with the East had fanned the creative passions of Richard Wilhelm, Heinrich Zimmer, and others, disorienting their psyches and triggering their cultural complexes. In an era when the East and West were often drawn into communion with each other, the feeling of *participation mystique* between alien cultures was not uncommon. Whether Jung viewed the congressional euphoria in this light, his first impressions of India were shaped from these interactions that he witnessed firsthand between the British and Indian fraternities.

The Preliminary Events

Meanwhile, the congress faced some minor hitches at the onset. On October 19, 1937, the president-elect of the joint science congress, Lord Rutherford, passed away, signaling an inauspicious start to the grand celebrations. Sir James Jeans, acclaimed British astronomer, physicist, and past president of the British Association, was asked to step in and was duly appointed the president of the Twenty-fifth Science Congress.[12] Soon after Lord Rutherford's demise, the legendary Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose passed away in Giridh on November 23, 1937.[13] The congress thus began on a grave note. The chain of misfortunes continued in the wake of the surrounding celebrations.[14] These unfortunate events notwithstanding, the celebrations commenced as scheduled and continued till January 15, when the delegation departed from India. The iconic Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay, the "Eye of India," was the venue for the welcome celebrations. Jung said in his reminiscences that soon after he disembarked in Bombay he left the town for a tour of the countryside. Later, he said, he came back and took a tour of the city of Bombay.

> The flat expanse of Bombay and its low dark hills, rising almost suddenly above the horizon,

> give you the feeling of the vastness of a continent behind. This impression explains my first reaction directly after I disembarked: I took a car and went out of town, away into the country. That felt a great deal better.[15]

The vastness of the land unnerved Jung, and the first contact with an Indian city made him restless and uneasy. These feelings of discomfiture would linger in him for some time. Not having any prior links with the scientific fraternities, Jung felt distanced from the excitement of the congressional gathering which he was now part of. The expanse of the landscape heightened this feeling of distance with his surroundings.

In a historical chronicle from 1898, titled *Picturesque India*, the city of Bombay was described in this way:

> It is the largest, most populous, and enterprising city in the Empire. More than half the imports and exports of all India pass through its custom house. Nine tenths of the persons entering or leaving the country do so at Bombay; it is without exception the finest modern city in Asia . . . As the steamer rounds Colaba point, and proceeds slowly to her moorings, the panorama of Bombay city, with the noble public buildings towering above the masts in her docks, the low coast-line beyond sweeping round the vast bay dotted with palm-clad islands backed by the lofty blue mountains of Matheran and Mahabaleshwar, fully justify the name given by the old Portuguese navigators in the 16th century—Bom Bahia, the beautiful bay.[16]

Bombay left Jung with impressions of "a dreamlike world."[17] So affected was he by the sight of the teeming masses and the bustling bazaars that he felt his own European consciousness thinning out in effect. He mentioned to E. A. Bennet that he delivered some talks in Bombay and said that when he was lecturing in Bombay, "no one had the slightest idea what he was talking about," so he began telling stories of hypnotism, and then the people thought it was wonderful.[18] The British report does not mention his talk, so it is unclear if Jung meant the informal talks that he had with members of the delegation or a public talk.[19] Whatever be the case, Jung found that Indians were barely acquainted with his work. This was not surprising; in the colonial era and even afterward, Indian academia was, in general, unacquainted with his work on analytical psychology. This would become clearer for Jung as the journey progressed and may have not gone down too well with him given that his own interest in India was far from cursory.

Thus, Jung's program in Bombay consisted of attending the welcome celebrations at Ballard Pier (the station next to Bombay Port where the delegation disembarked), a countryside tour and a city tour by car, and

attending the official dinner and lunch at Willingdon Club and the Taj Mahal Hotel on December 17 and 18, apart from a public talk that he may have given. His journal notes mention a "visit to Maharaja of Rewa." This information could not be confirmed or elaborated upon from extant archival records. On fulfillment of the above activities and after an overnight stay at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Jung boarded the special train of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with the rest of the delegation on December 18 and embarked on a grand tour of the historical sites in India.

Aboard the Great Indian Peninsula Railway

The Great Indian Peninsula Railway was a historic rail engineering innovation that had been incorporated into the colonial Indian railway in 1849. It was headquartered in Bombay in an Italian Gothic architectural building that was made up of "a great dome surmounted by a huge figure of Progress, a grand central staircase, palatial booking offices made of coloured marbles, fine stone and wood carvings, encaustic tiles and ornamental railings."[20] It was an enviable colonial landmark. In partnership with Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son and other agencies, the Peninsula Railway had set up a thriving travel enterprise in the colonial era, offering customized and carefully designed tours for overseas travelers to the popular destinations in India. The services included luxury passenger comforts, liaisons for boarding and lodging, and the overseeing of passenger services and benefits. India was a popular destination, and the Indian scientific fraternity was aware that a comprehensive tour of the subcontinent would be of immense interest to the visiting delegates.

The British report gives the following description of the tour:

> The party left Bombay in the afternoon of December 18, in the special train which was to be their headquarters during the tour through northern India until January 2, and again for those of them who joined the southern tour after the Congress in Calcutta. The train consisted of the Punjab Limited rolling-stock of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and for the outward tour, included seven corridor coaches with compartments affording very comfortable living and sleeping accommodation for two persons each, two dining cars, a brake, a servants' car, and a commissariat car. The travel arrangements were made by the Indian Science Congress Association in collaboration with the railway companies concerned and with Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son as agents. Mr. W. D. West, one of the General Secretaries of the Indian Association, had principally dealt with the details of organisation of the tours in advance, and Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, the other General Secretary, accompanied the tour preceding the Congress, and dealt with all the arrangements therefore excepting those at Agra and Dehra

Dun and those of the geologists' visit to Dhanbad, etc.[21]

Traveling aboard the historic Peninsula Railway, across a vast geographical expanse, viewing many of the finest splendors of the land, Jung encountered India in its majestic and distinctive form. It was a tour that even his distinguished fellow travelers from around the world had not experienced before.[22] But for Jung, the Eastern world, rich and diverse in character, was strikingly different from his Swiss European milieu, evoking in him feelings of an alien culture and people.

A Picturesque India—Hyderabad, Ajantha, Ellora, Sanchi

Although the itinerary was primarily oriented toward northern India, the first stop for the touring delegation was Hyderabad, toward the southeast of India. In the colonial era, Hyderabad was a quaint city, fortified by a thick stone wall with numerous gateways. The largest native state in India and the capital of Deccan, it was ruled over by the Nizams from 1724 to 1948 in close allegiance to the British, who often provided the Nizams with military help in safeguarding their territories against incursions by local rulers. The delegation reached Hyderabad on December 19, and there they viewed the hill fort of Golkonda, Osmania University, and the sixteenth-century tombs of the Qutb Shahi kings. This was Jung's first encounter with Islamic art and architecture in India. In his private records, Jung noted the colorful Islamic regalia strewn at the state reception.

Caine provides an early description of the region:

> Golconda was known as an ancient fortress and ruined city about seven miles west of Haidarabad. In former times, Golconda was a large and powerful kingdom of the Deccan, which rose out of the ashes of the Bahmani dynasty . . . The plain in which Golconda is situated is stony and arid, with enormous boulders of granite piled one on the top of each other in strange and fantastic heaps. In the midst of these rises a solitary hill about 250 feet high crowned by a sombre fortress. Ranged along the foot, on the plain, are the tombs of the kings, a row of vast mausoleums . . . The tombs are similar in character though differing in size and height . . . The finest tomb is that of Muhammad Kuli Kutub Shah, the builder of the Char Minar and the Mekka mosque at Haidarabad. It is one 180 feet high, the dome being sixty feet high. There are some magnificent single blocks of granite worked into this tomb, especially the pillars and pilasters of the portals. This building was decorated with encaustic tiles, of which a few remain, suggestive of the beauty of the whole.[23]

These travel notes of a nineteenth-century British tourist give us an idea of what Jung may have looked at standing amid those ancient ruins. In

addition to sightseeing, welcome rituals, and formal addresses, the visiting party participated in several official luncheons and dinners. The atmosphere was infused with communion and goodwill.

From Hyderabad, the party proceeded toward Aurangabad on December 20, traveling on a narrow-gauge train. The members disembarked at the station in Jalgaon in central India to view the famed Ellora and Ajanta caves and the fortress of Daulatabad. Elaborate logistics had to be worked out by the officers of the state railway to convey the visitors to the remote locations. A university officer deputed by the congress supervised all hospitality for the journey by road. The state curators introduced the foreign delegates to the historic sites, offering them tea at the famous caves and putting them up at the local rest houses. The official report of the tour mentions that the inland journey borne by the members was strenuous, but whatever the hardship, Jung was immersed in the sightseeing. The historic sites were not entirely unfamiliar to him because of his readings on oriental art and architecture in Zürich. On December 21, he was at Ellora with the rest of the delegation. Caine's vivid description of the site offers a glimpse of these ancient caves.

> The famous caves of Ellora are, on the whole, the finest and most perfect group of those marvellous temples and monasteries which have been cut out of the solid rock by the ancient people of this land of wonders. Scattered along the base of a range of beautiful wooded hills, rising some five hundred feet out of the plain, are a succession of rock temples, Buddhist, Hindu and Jain. Their dates are obscure, but the oldest is set down by authority at 200 B.C., and the most recent at 1200 A.D. . . .There are at least thirty principal *chaitya*s (temples) . . . scattered along a distance of two miles . . . right and left of the splendid Kylas, the central wonder of the series, which was carved out by Dravidians, A.D. 750–850. This greatest of these Titanic excavations cannot be called a cave at all. The architect has quarried a huge chunk of solid rock out of the hillside, leaving a mass in the centre, standing out alone from the lofty cliffs from which it has been cut . . . Every bit of the entire fabric is a mass of sculpted figures, beautifully finished in all their details. The Kylas, standing on its site, as excavated out of the solid rock, is an absolute monolith.[24]

The engravings on the caves, embodying ancient myths and legends were immensely attractive to Jung; he had explored the religious and cultural significance of Eastern architecture in his readings, but the program was hectic and may not have given him the necessary quietude to study the sculptures in depth. His personal notes refer to the imposing Kailash Temple at Ellora, supported by elephants, and the *lingam* of the inner chamber. At the Ajanta caves, Jung mentioned the frescoes based on Buddha's life stories and a mandala on the ceiling. Following this stopover, the delegates proceeded from Aurangabad toward Sanchi on December 22.

> Five miles from Bhilsa is Sanchi, a small village, round which are scattered some of the finest Buddhist remains in India; including eleven topes, the finest of which is known as the Great Sanchi Tope, surrounded by four gateways and a rail, casts of which may be seen in the Indian Museum at South Kensington.[25]

Jung has left us his musings of Sanchi in his reminiscences. He was familiar with Sanchi from reading Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, which contains descriptions of the Great Sanchi Tope.[26] But he was unprepared for the impact Sanchi had on him.

> The distant prospect over the plain, the stupas themselves, the temple ruins, and the solitary stillness of this holy site held me in a spell. I took leave of my companion and submerged myself in the overpowering mood of the place.
>
> After a while I heard rhythmic gong tones approaching from a distance. A group of Japanese pilgrims came marching up one behind the other, each striking a small gong. They were beating out the rhythm of the age-old prayer *Om mani Padme hum*, the stroke of the gong falling upon the *hum* . . . They completed the double circumambulation, singing a hymn before each statue of the Buddha. As I watched them, my mind and spirit were with them, and something within me silently thanked them for having so wonderfully come to the aid of my inarticulate feelings.
>
> The intensity of my emotion showed that the hill of Sanchi meant something central to me. A new side of Buddhism was revealed to me there.[27]

Jung would have other opportunities to encounter Buddhist shrines during this tour, but at Sanchi he found something that mirrored the India he had in his mind. The stupas had a profound effect on him, and Sanchi was etched in his memory forever. The experience brought alive notions of the collective unconscious, for as a Westerner, uninitiated in any Buddhist religious rite or practice, he had found an instant connection with an ancient Buddhist ritual.[28] It is pertinent to mention here that by *religion* Jung did not mean a creed or a specific doctrine.

> Religion, as the Latin word denotes, is a careful and scrupulous observation of what Rudolf Otto aptly termed *numinosum*, that is, a dynamic agency or effect not caused by an arbitrary act of will. On the contrary, it seizes and controls the human subject, who is always rather its victim than its creator. The *numinosum*— whatever its cause may be—is an experience of the subject independent of his will . . . The *numinosum* is either a quality belonging to a visible object or the influence of an invisible presence that causes a peculiar alteration of consciousness.[29]

Jung stated that numinous experiences were often manifestations of profound inner transformations:

> It is clear that these changes are not everyday occurrences, but very fateful transformations indeed. Usually, they have a numinous character and take the form of conversions, illuminations, emotional shocks, blows of fate, religious or mystical experiences, or their equivalents. Modern man has such hopelessly muddled ideas of anything "mystical" or else such a rationalistic fear of it, that, if ever a mystical experience should befall him, he is sure to misunderstand its true character and will deny or repress its numinosity.[30]

The extraordinary face of Buddhism that was revealed to Jung at Sanchi prompted him to remark to George Krauskopf in December 1949:

> I perfectly understand your preference for Buddhism. It is something magnificent. I have visited the holy places of Buddhism in India and was profoundly impressed by them, quite apart from my reading of Buddhist literature. If I were an Indian I would definitely be a Buddhist.[31]

The congressional report also recorded the Sanchi stopover: "The Buddhist stupas and other remains in Sanchi in Bhopal State were visited on December 22**nd**. While visiting the stupas they met a party of pilgrims who had come all the way from Japan doing homage to the stupas accompanied by a Buddhist priest in yellow robes."[32]

Agra, Delhi, and Dehradun

From Sanchi, the party proceeded northward, reaching Agra on the evening of December 22. The sixteenth-century Mughal city of Agra, a landmark of medieval India set on the banks of the river Yamuna, was a source of great interest for the touring members. The ruins of the walled city, the red sandstone fortress, and the Taj Mahal were relics of a bygone Mughal era. The European quarters of the city bore legends of the historic Sepoy Mutiny. In the proximity of such history, the members became unusually enthused to see the Taj Mahal by moonlight. Jung was struck by its matchless beauty.

> But there is love, the most poetic, most exquisite love of beauty in these old Moguls. In a world of tyranny and cruelty, a heavenly dream crystallized in stone: the Taj Mahal. I cannot conceal my unmitigated admiration for this supreme flower, for this jewel beyond price, and I marvel at that love which discovered the genius of Shah Jehan and used it as an instrument of self-realization.[33]

The chronicles of a British itinerant describe this veritable jewel in these words:

> This lovely vista closes in with a vast dome of white marble, posed on a building whose perfect symmetry and absolute finish of every detail, flashes like some priceless jewel in the glorious blue-setting of the Indian noon-day sky . . . The Taj is even more beautiful in the silver dress of moonlight than in the golden robes of the noonday sun.[34]

The deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri, close on the heels of Agra, which Fergusson named Emperor Akbar's most authentic souvenir of Muslim architecture, "a veritable romance in stone," was the next stopover. The party visited the observatories (of the Meteorological Department of the British government) at Agra, after which Sir James Jeans was invited to address the students at the university. For Jung, nothing was perfunctory. The ruggedness of northern India, the colorful costumes, the machismo of the north Indian man, the endless, repetitive cycle of lives lived by the Indian masses, all struck him as belonging to a civilization thousands of years old, arising from an immemorial time and leading into another. The air of antiquity stood out as an essential quality of India.

It was Christmas Eve when the party reached Delhi, the capital of imperial India. Jung had now traveled for almost a week across the rugged terrains of southern, central and northern India, viewing Hindu, Islamic, and Buddhist monuments and sites. Delhi, one of the most ancient cities of the East, is characterized by its pre-Christian history dating back 300 B.C. It was made up of ancient fortresses, palaces, and mosques, comparable to the ruined marvels of Rome, Athens, or Constantinople. Islam's overpowering influence on India was evident in the city's splendid architectural edifices.

> At Delhi on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day the great modern group of Government buildings—the Viceroy's House, the Secretariat, and the Council House—and the new Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research were visited, as well as many historical monuments, such as the fort, the palace, and Juma Masjid (mosque) of Shah Jahan (c. 1640), the ruined old fort of the fifteenth century, the mosque of Sher Shah, and the twelfth-century Tower of Victory known as the Kutb Minar, with its adjacent Jain and Hindu temples and mosque and the famous iron pillar to which is assigned an age of fifteen centuries or more. The Government of India entertained the party to luncheon on Christmas Eve, and on Christmas Day most generous entertainment was extended to individual members by many residents, Indian and British, in New Delhi.[35]

Jung viewed the Delhi Fort, Qutub Minar, Jama Masjid, Shah Jahan's palace, and the Diwan-i-Khas and mentioned them in his jottings. The sightseeing was interspersed with official luncheons and welcome ceremonies. The crowded itinerary may have become too strenuous for Jung. The scale of reception and entertainment was lavish, as India was hosting a

galaxy of scientific luminaries and the occasion was unique. The flurry of soirees and meetings organized by the local hosts for the visiting dignitaries dominated the Christmas mood. Jung made no particular recollection of anyone but quite possibly socialized with prominent Indians of Delhi, apart from visiting the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, attending "at home" functions, and engaging in some sightseeing in the city.[36]

From Delhi the party headed toward Dehradun (Dehra Dun) on Christmas Day to visit the Forest Research Institute, a scientific establishment of the colonial era. Jung's notes refer to the approximately fourteen hundred acres of forests, arboretums, and botanical gardens as the "primeval forest." A detour to the foothills was undertaken with the intent of viewing the Himalayas. Jung wrote of Nanda Devi and his first view of the mighty Himalayas in his personal notes. The Himalayas would denote something more for Jung in the coming days, but for now, the members of the traveling party observed the scientific activities of the Forest Research Institute and the Geodetic Branch of the Survey of India before proceeding southward toward the Gangetic Plain.

Alice Boner and the Saga of Jung in Benares

Caine's description of Benares gives us a foretaste of what Jung encountered in this ancient, holy city.

> Benares is without question the most picturesque city in India. It lies on a bend of the Ganges, along the crest of a hill about 100 feet above the water. Viewed from the river, it presents a panorama of palaces, temples and mosques, surmounted by domes, pinnacles and minarets, stretching three miles along the top of the bank. From these descend great flights of stone stairs, broken into wide platforms, on which are built exquisite Hindu shrines, bathing-houses and preaching canopies. Long piers project into the river, on which sick people lie, carefully tended by their relatives to get the beneficent healing of the great mother Ganges.[37]

The delegation left Dehra Dun on December 26 and reached Benares the following afternoon. On arrival the delegates were taken on a tour of Sarnath, and on the following day they enjoyed a boat ride on the Ganges. This was followed by the convocation ceremony of the Banaras Hindu University. The holy city of Benares had an intense effect on Jung. At the ceremonial convocation, where he was conferred the degree *honoris causa* from Banaras Hindu University, Jung was in for a surprise. A tall, elegant Swiss lady approached him and introduced herself. Jung was delighted to see her. A

whiff of Swiss air was a welcome breather in the midst of everything alien and cloying. He was quick to accept her offer of sightseeing and dinner, and so he took leave of his colleagues after the ceremonial rituals and ventured into the city with his new friends.

Alice Boner was no ordinary figure in Benares. Born into a wealthy family in Switzerland, Boner was a trained artist and had worked in Europe before coming to India. The yearning for the Orient, for an unsophisticated way of life, had led Alice to travel to India, but it was not until she had a chance encounter with Uday Shankar, the legendary Indian dancer known for his avant-garde interpretations, in Paris that she actually realized her dream. In 1926, she saw Shankar perform, and this sparked her Indian adventure.[38] Shankar was then touring Europe with Anna Pavlova. Alice was impressed with Shankar's recital, and she asked him to pose for her at her art studio. She met him again a few years later, and this time she found that Shankar was planning to build a troupe that would help him showcase Indian dance in the West. He needed help to actualize his plans, and Boner became a willing patron and collaborator.

Indian art mesmerized Alice. The prospect of seeing India was a long-cherished dream. She took up the opportunity to travel with Shankar and toured India extensively, studying Indian dance and music, costumes, sculpture, and architecture, all of which she ingeniously incorporated into Shankar's theatrical productions. In the course of time, Boner became a connoisseur of Indian temple art and chose to settle down in Benares, where she spent many years of her life studying and writing on Indian temple art. Alice Boner's contribution to Indian art has left its own mark in the cultural landscape of India. She is widely acknowledged as having familiarized the West with the ancient Kathakali dance form of Kerala. Like many others of that era who lit up the Indian horizon with their oriental zeal, Boner was a trailblazer for whom India formed an inseparable part of her life.



Figure 4.2: Alice Boner, artist and scholar, an acquaintance of Jung, who met him in Benares in 1937. Credit: Photograph courtesy *India: My Karma* by Alfred Würfel.

On December 28, when Alice Boner walked up to Jung in a crowded lecture hall of the Department of Psychology at Banaras Hindu University, she did not meet him as a stranger but as a friend from Zürich.[39] She was aware that he was to be conferred an honorary degree at the university, as all the local dailies had carried reports of the visiting British delegation. It was at Benares that Jung was asked to lecture at the faculty of psychology before a formal commemoration ceremony. Alice heard him speak and remembered his talk later as being "exceptionally alive and warm," where the "elements of psychoanalysis were clearly and understandably presented."[40] Jung received his honorary degree clothed in red ceremonial robes. By Boner's side throughout that memorable ceremony was a young German named Alfred Würfel, a newly enrolled student of Sanskrit at the Banaras Hindu University. Yet another person formed part of the group—Alice's younger sister, Georgette Boner, who was visiting her at the time.

When Boner and Würfel finally whisked Jung off for a tour of the city,

into the alleys of the Kashi Vishwanath Temple, Jung became unusually distressed.[41] The dreary scenes of the *ghats* were startling for a first-time visitor like him. The Hindu temples and their crowded complexes unnerved him. During a visit to the city's inner parts, Jung became agitated and lost his compos mentis.

> Crows, kites, pigeons and parrots circle round the heads of this kaleidoscopic crowd. Up and down the ghats, all day long, but especially in the early morning, stream the endless course of pilgrims, ragged tramps, aged crones, horrible beggars, hawkers, Brahmin priests, sacred bulls and cows, Hindu preachers, wealthy rajas or bankers in gay palankins, Fakirs, pariah dogs and scoffing globe-trotters from Europe and America.[42]

The holy sanctum and its sacred edifices, teeming with people, were unbearable for Jung. This ancient metropolis of Hindu faith, dating from Aryan times, was an utterly new experience for Jung. The riotous spirit of the god Shiva that characterized the city's disorderly appearance had an unusual effect on him. He was unable to take in the grimness of the atmosphere and exclaimed, "I cannot stand this any longer, I want to return to the hotel."[43] W. S. Caine's experience decades earlier illumines what Jung may have actually witnessed:

> Benares is the holy city of Sivaism and the Golden Temple is its holy of holies. It is a small building, a quadrangle, covered with a roof, above which rises a very picturesque tower . . . It is not permitted to any but Hindus to enter the temple, but visitors may stand on some steps in the threshold, from which a sufficient view may be got of the interior of the temple. It is very crowded with pilgrims, priests, and sacred bulls and cows, the floor being filthy beyond description . . . Thrust into this group of sacred Hindu buildings by Aurangzeb, is a mosque, built as an insult to the Brahmin faith . . . Between the mosque and Golden Temple is a courtyard, in the centre of which is the "GyanKup" or the "well of knowledge." Within this well is the choice residence of Siva himself.[44]

Jung's anguished remark left his companions stunned. They could not fathom the cause of his distress and deduced later that "the reality with which he was confronted in India did not correspond with what he had read on Indian metaphysics and psychology."[45] It was clear that the exhaustion of the journey was beginning to take a toll on his health.[46]

Alice's dinner gathering that evening in honor of Jung at her riverside residence on Assi Ghat was an enchanting experience for the hostess and her friends. Jung recovered from the afternoon's fiasco and regaled the group with his incandescent wit. "I didn't even know that such a thing as a university existed in Benares—let alone a Faculty of Psychology!" he told

Alice and Würfel.[47] Würfel remembered Jung saying in all earnestness that "compared to Indian psychology, we in



Figure 4.3: The inner sanctum of the Kashi Viswanath Temple of Benares (also called Golden Temple). Jung picked up several calendar art pictures from Benares of Hindu temples, gods, and goddesses during his tour. Credit: Jung Family Archive.



Figure 4.4: Kashi Vishwanath—image of Shiva, the principal deity of the Kashi Vishwanath Temple in Benares. The temple houses the Jyotirlinga, one of the twelve Jyotirlinga shrines that are located in India. The picture that Jung procured shows the cosmic trident (*trishul*), *damaru* (drum), the snakes draping Shiva, the sacred Ganges erupting from his matted hair, and the tiger skin on which he is seated. Jung visited the temple alleys in Benares with Alice Boner and Alfred Würfel in 1937. Credit: Jung Family Archive.

the West are still very much in our infancy."[48] Boner recalled later that "an extraordinary warm atmosphere emanates from him . . . We were simply captivated."[49]

Some of the first traces of Jung's presence in India can be found in Boner's and Würfel's reminiscences about Jung in Benares. The British report highlights the Benares itinerary describing the following activities:

> The party left Dehra Dun late on December 26, and reached Benares in the afternoon of December 27. Sir Arthur Eddington, F.R.S., visited Allahabad, and presided over a colloquium on astrophysics. On arrival at Benares the party was conveyed to Sarnath, where, about five centuries before Christ, Buddha first preached after his enlightenment, and where

> Asoka set up the great Dhamekhstupa in the third century B.C., and a column of which broken remains are seen on the ground [*sic*], while the richly sculptured capital is in the adjacent museum. On December 28 the party viewed from boats the famous river-frontage of Benares with its temples, ghats, and steps. Afterwards members were entertained in the Benares Hindu University, and attended its twentieth Convocation, at which, among others, the following delegates received honorary degrees: Sir James Jeans, F.R.S., Sir Arthur Eddington, F.R.S., Dr. F. W. Aston, F.R.S., . . . Prof. C. G. Jung, and Prof. F. A. E. Crew. Sir James Jeans addressed the Convocation, and lectures or short addresses to students were subsequently given by Dr. F. W. Aston, F.R.S., Prof. E. C. C. Baly, C.B.E., F.R.S., Prof. Ernest Barker, Prof. V. H. Blackman, F.R.S., Prof. F. A. E. Crew, Sir Arthur Eddington, F.R.S., and Prof. C. G. Jung.[50]

Yet another incident marked Jung's Benares stopover. As the vice-chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, Madan Mohan Malaviya, delivered his welcome address at the convocation, a young postgraduate student was nearby.[51] Arwind Vasavada, twenty-five years old, was a student of philosophy and psychology aspiring to do his doctoral work under Dr. Radhakrishnan when Jung received his degree *honoris causa* at the university in 1937. More than a decade later, Vasavada would meet Jung in Zürich, and his life would take a turn, but on that winter afternoon Vasavada had no clue about this.[52] Fulfilling all his engagements, Jung took leave of his companions to join the official delegation to proceed toward Calcutta. Alice he would meet again in Zürich, and Alfred Würfel and Georgette Boner had in the meanwhile decided to accompany him to Calcutta. Sir James Jeans later remarked to a group of journalists in Calcutta that Benares was the place that most impacted him in their journey across India.[53] But for Jung, Benares had not been as pleasant. He had no inkling of what awaited him ahead in the journey, but the telltale signs that everything was not well with him had already surfaced.

Darjeeling and the First Signs of Jung's Illness

The delegation was now in its twelfth day of travel. On the night of December 28, the party left Benares. In addition to Fowler McCormick, Jung was now accompanied by Alice's sister, Georgette, and Alfred Würfel. Before the party disembarked in Calcutta, the train made a detour to Darjeeling.

According to Würfel, the British team had studied a map of India in London and determined that the Himalayas were accessible from Calcutta.

They also knew that British engineers had built a miniature railway in Darjeeling to carry passengers to and from the hills. Thus, the party was keen for a stopover there. The scientific delegation's special train left Benares on December 28 and reached Calcutta the following afternoon. It crossed another British engineering landmark Vivekananda Setu, the bridge over the Hooghly River, and halted at the Sealdah railway station for over an hour. While some of the scientific delegates disembarked at the station, the train with most of the delegates onboard proceeded toward Darjeeling, en route to Siliguri.

The Himalayas were a prized dream for twentieth-century explorers. One of the last secrets to be unveiled in the modern world, the Himalayas had been attracting explorers since the 1920s. The tallest and most mysterious mountain range, close to the "forbidden city" of Lhasa, presided over by the holy Dalai Lama, was a source of great curiosity and interest to the British. The "Goddess Mother of Mountains," Mount Everest was forbidden terrain until the Dalai Lama decreed that the British mountaineers could have access to the peak. Despite his sanction, all efforts to scale Everest had failed time and again.[54] The expeditions of G. L. Mallory, Charles Howard-Bury, and others drew worldwide attention, and Jung was aware of these adventures. He had a picture of Everest, titled "Top of the World " and dated as early as 1930 with him, and he was acquainted with British mountaineering and sporting skills.[55]



Figure 4.5: Top of the World. Jung had this picture of Mount Everest with him in Zürich. On the back is the inscription: "From Mabel C. Bond / Top of the World / Nov 26 1930." Jung viewed the Himalayas in India from Mussoorie (Nanda Devi) and Darjeeling (Kanchenjunga). Credit: Jung Family Archive.

> The route from Calcutta to the foot of the hills is across the great fertile plain of Bengal, and nothing is lost by a night journey through its monotony; but the rise from the plains to Darjeeling is probably the grandest railway journey in the world. . . .
>
> The road runs the whole distance through dense, primeval forest, except where sunny spurs of mountains have been cleared for tea-gardens . . . At every turn fresh beauty reveals itself . . . Behind, stretching away to the horizon, is the vast fertile plain of Bengal, bathed in sunlight, with rivers meandering out from the mountain gorges like bright silver ribbons. Before, the first ranges of the Himalayas rising from 5000 to 8000 feet above the plain, forest clad to their summits. . . .
>
> Darjeeling lives under the shadow of Kanchenjunga, in the heart of the great Himalayan range . . . No pen can give any adequate description of the stupendous magnificence of the situation and surroundings of Darjeeling . . . Between these mountains, which stretch in a chain of over two hundred miles in extent are a continuous succession of snow-fields and glaciers and in the centre of the whole range rises their glorious monarch, Kanchenjunga, whose crown of ice rears itself five clear miles above the plain of Bengal. . . .
>
> At daybreak Kanchenjunga is usually buried under a dense mass of cloud with clear blue everywhere else above. As the sun gathers strength, this mass of vapour slowly breaks up and spreads itself to the zenith. Presently the glittering ice-peaks show themselves through blue gaps and by nine o' clock the upper clouds have melted and the lower ones banked down into the Ranjit Valley, leaving the whole summit of Kanchenjunga clear, with its forty miles of

> snow-field and glacier, and its towering summits, a rich pale, glittering yellow against the pure cobalt of the morning sky.[56]

Jung was moved by the visual panorama of the mountainside. The foothills of the majestic Himalayas lifted his spirits, but even as the pristine splendor of the hills seemed to appease his homesickness for the mountains, his physical health kept deteriorating. Not only was he becoming ill, he was also not completely at ease in the midst of the scientific party. E. A. Bennet reports the following episode, which Jung recounted many years later about his sojourn at Darjeeling:

> They were near Darjeeling, and went up Signal Hill, a well-known place, to watch the sunset. They had the good fortune to get an absolutely clear view of Kanchenjunga which is rare, for the high mountain is usually in cloud. On Signal Hill is a mound of stones; they are reddish in colour being painted with red-oxide of lead, and the Mohammedans pour ghee over them. The red represents blood. There are also very many tall bamboos—"as high as the electric standards," he said, pointing to one in the road. These trees were hung all over with little flags printed with a horse (a special horse which he described but I could not get the details) for this had been a sacred place for many centuries, since long before Mohammad. It was a marvellous spectacle with a valley in shadow and then a bluish-purple, and out of it all the brilliant fiery setting of the sun. Everyone gazed spellbound at this striking scene and one of the members of the British Association muttered "Phew!"—an involuntary exclamation of awe. C. G. said to him, "What is that you do? You are uttering quite spontaneously the exclamation of awe which has been uttered for countless centuries, and you don't know it!" There was quite a crowd there and Barker, the Professor of English from Cambridge, said, "Now Jung, you must know the famous passage in *Faust* about the setting sun!" And Jung did know it, and recited it. It was a most impressive and highly unscientific spectacle, he said. He repeated the passage from Goethe to us as we sat in the little shed by the pier, where, as often before, we had sat after a similar stroll. "But," C. G. went on to tell us, "here was a living myth, for the mountain lit by the sun is said to be the wife of Vishnu; and the myth gives the story and the experience meaning. That is what myths are." He spoke of the stupidity of an Anglican parson who had visited him and talked of "trying to get Truth," as if he could get it in a form he would be able to understand and that it would not be truth otherwise.[57]

It was not merely the magical sight of the mountains that Jung remembered, but the utter incongruity of the scene in which a group of scientists had been rendered speechless on viewing the Himalayas. The wondrous spectacle of the setting sun was a manifestation of an ancient myth which modern scientific principles would not ratify but whose truth was embodied in its timeless and incommensurable beauty. Jung realized how in the midst of the wisest scientific minds of the West, he had stumbled upon the gaping inadequacies of materialistic scientism.

Reciting *Faust* at the behest of a colleague, Jung seemed to recognize the

oddness of the setting he was part of. Although he was himself a scientist of extraordinary stature, the members of the scientific party who accompanied him were very different from him. As a psychologist rooted in Western empirical tradition, Jung had explored the realms of spirituality in search of a truth that conventional science had failed to provide. There were few or none perhaps in that prestigious scientific delegation who had engaged with psyche and spirit in the way Jung had done. Poised on a faraway mountain crest, in that proverbial twilight hour, Jung's recital of Goethe's immortal elegy symbolized the tragic irony of his own loneliness and his painful estrangement from the scientific ideals and tradition that he was acquainted with.

In a letter to Bennet in 1960, not long after he recounted this episode to him, Jung voiced (not for the first time) his thoughts on science and psychology:

> Psychic events are observable facts and can be dealt with in a scientific way . . . Under these circumstances I do make the claim of being "scientific" because I do exactly what you describe as the "scientific" method. I observe, I classify, I establish relations and sequences between the observed data and I even show the possibility of prediction. If I speak of the collective unconscious I don't assume it as a principle, I only give a name to the totality of observable facts, i.e., archetypes. I derive nothing from it as it is merely a *nomen*.
>
> The crux is the term "scientific," which in the Anglo-Saxon realm means, it seems, physical, chemical and mathematical evidence only. On the continent, however, any kind of adequate logical and systematic approach is called "scientific"; thus historical and comparative methods are scientific. History, mythology, anthropology, ethnology, are "sciences" as are geology, zoology, botany, etc.
>
> It is evident that psychology has the claim of being "scientific" even when it is not concerned only with (most inadequate) physical or physiological methods. Psyche is the mother of all our attempts to understand Nature, but in contradistinction to all others it tries to understand itself by itself, a great disadvantage in one way and an equally great prerogative in the other![58]

Traveling through the plateau of the Deccan, the foothills of the Himalayas, and the lush Gangetic plains of eastern India, visiting ancient historic sites and monuments, Jung had encountered India's rich and diverse cultural legacy and seen its vast geographical and ethnic character. Instead of mesmerizing him, these encounters put him in touch with the real India. He found it difficult to assimilate all that he came across. Months later, when he wrote to Boshi about how India had impacted him, he said that it was only the mountains of the north and the spirit of Buddha in the south that had

really moved him. The complexities that the journey brought up were not easy for him to describe.

Two other incidents marked Jung's unforgettable Darjeeling sojourn. He met with Lingdam Gomchem, a Lamaic *rimpoche* on the last day of December 1937. And he contracted a deadly tropical disease.

> In 1938, I had the opportunity, in the monastery of Bhutia Busty, near Darjeeling, of talking with a Lamaic *rimpoche*, Kingdam Gomchen by name, about the *khilkor* or mandala. He explained it as a *dmigs-pa* (pronounced "migpa"), a mental image which can be built up only by a fully instructed lama through the power of imagination. He said that no mandala is like any other, they are all individually different. Also, he said, the mandalas to be found in monasteries and temples were of no particular significance because they were external representations only. The true mandala is always an inner image, which is gradually built up through (active) imagination, at such times when psychic equilibrium is disturbed or when a thought cannot be found and must be sought for, because it is not contained in holy doctrine.[59]

After his experience in Sanchi, Jung was keen to interact with Buddhist priests in monasteries. Leaving the melancholic environs of Benares and the stifling air of the congressional party behind, Jung found solace in his visit to the nearby monastery. Darjeeling and its adjoining places had become active Buddhist hubs in the decades of the 1920s and '30s. Several Europeans had traveled eastward, following the trail of Buddhism.[60] We find a description of this quaint shrine in the late nineteenth-century travelogue of W. S. Caine:

> The Bhutia Busti, a quaint and picturesque village inhabited by Bhutias and Lepchas, is about a mile from the hotel. There are several groups of hamlets, in the middle of which is a Buddhist temple. As the ordinary tourist in India is not likely to find a Buddhist temple anywhere else in his travels until he reaches Ceylon, this opportunity ought not to be lost. This temple is Tibetan, differing entirely from the Cingalese. Two or three fat old lamas are generally found comfortably snoozing away their time, and will gladly exhibit their images and other treasures.[61]

Jung stayed at the Mount Everest Hotel, close to the monastery. The halt at Darjeeling was for two days, but the stopover, instead of reviving his spirits, turned into an ordeal when a dangerous "intestinal infection" surfaced.[62] Jung wrote that he was infected with dysentery, but the exact particulars of his ailment have never been fully known. In all likelihood, he had contracted "hill dysentery," a disease that can be fatal.[63] A history of the diseases of war, published in 1942, notes that "of dysentery it may be said that where man is found, there will some of its forms appear."[64] According to Hill, amoebic dysentery was known as a military disease during the war

years. It was found not only in the tropics, but also in French and British war camps, and was rampant in places where malaria occurred. Hill further states that there are two kinds of dysentery, bacillary and amoebic—in all probability Jung had contracted the latter.[65] Given the incubation period of the disease, Jung had most likely contracted it in Benares. He had been traveling for more than two weeks in the tropics, and although the finest and the most opulent arrangements had been made for the guests, the frenzied itinerary had taken its toll on Jung. He had taken no precautions to withstand such an arduous journey and had refused to inoculate himself before the voyage. More than a decade earlier, he had undertaken a strenuous tour across Africa and had survived harsher travel conditions. But this time, it was not merely the unremitting travel but contact with an alien culture and a crowded congressional itinerary with which he had to cope. Jung knew that he was unwell, but he had no inkling that he had contracted a potentially fatal illness and that his health was spiraling dangerously downward.

NOTES

[1] The events consisted of the celebratory tour of India for the visiting scientific delegation and the scientific meetings and commemorative functions of the Silver Jubilee Congress of 1938.

[2] "The members who took both the tours . . . before and after the meeting, travelled close upon six thousand miles in India." British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year), Cambridge, August 17–24* (London: Office of the British Association, Burlington House, 1938), p. 35. "Both the tours" refers to the tour that took place before the Silver Jubilee Congress began on January 3 and the tour that the members took after the congress ended on January 9. The first tour, in which Jung traveled with the scientific delegation, was conducted from December 17, 1937, to January 2, 1938. After the science congress sessions ended, the delegation, consisting of fifty members, traveled to southern India, visiting Madras, Mysore, and Bangalore, departing from India via Bombay on January 15, 1938. Jung did not join the delegation on this tour but traveled separately to the same places. He also toured several other places in the south, staying for more than two weeks after the scientific delegation had departed from India. Hence, Jung would have traveled more than six

thousand miles in India if we refer to the report of the British Association. See also "Tour of the Delegates," *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, 1938, Silver Jubilee Session* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939), pp. 38–43.

[3]The British Association report states that the party was comprised of 101 members, while the Indian Science Congress report states that the total number of delegates was 90.

[4] Dr. T. S. Venkatraman C.I.E., B.A., I.A.S., F.N.I., was an agricultural scientist who, along with C. A. Barber, a British botanist, spearheaded the Sugarcane Research Station in the Madras Presidency during the pre-independent era. He was appointed president of the Silver Jubilee Science Congress of 1938. He was knighted by the British government for his services in the imperial regime.

[5] The Indian provincial elections had been conducted in the winter of 1936–37 to facilitate home rule. The Indian National Congress had emerged with a clear majority, and tensions between the Indian and British sides continued in the wake of these developments. The environment was acrimonious at the time of the Silver Jubilee Science Congress, but open confrontations between the two sides were avoided.

[6] C. G. Jung, "Mind and Earth" (1931), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 37. "*Participation mystique* is a term coined by Lévy-Bruhl. It denotes a peculiar kind of psychological connection with objects, and consists of the fact that the subject cannot clearly distinguish himself from the object but is bound to it by a direct relationship, which amounts to partial identity." C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, vol. 6, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), § 781. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) was a French scholar, philosopher, and anthropologist who studied the primitive mind.

[7] Jung, "Mind and Earth," § 69.

[8] In a later essay, Jung wrote: "As soon as the dialogue between two people touches on something fundamental, essential and numinous, and a certain rapport is felt, it gives rise to a phenomenon which Lévy-Bruhl fittingly called *participation mystique*." C. G. Jung, "A Psychological View of Conscience"(1958), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), §

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[9] J. N. Mukherjee, “Modern Science in India, Significance of Indo-British Congress,” *Times of India*, December 18, 1937, p. 4.

[10] Nazir Ahmed, “Internationalism in Science,” *Times of India*, Educational Supplement, December 18, 1937, p. 5.

[11] In a letter to Pastor Walter Bernet, Jung, interpreting the concept widely, said that *participation mystique* ceases to exist when the verbal image and object are no longer identical. C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2: 1951–1961*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 264. His original interpretation of *participation mystique* was in relation to the parental imagos that the child holds vis-à-vis his parents. See Jung, “Mind and Earth,” pp. 36–38.

[12] “The Indian Science Congress Association attained its Silver Jubilee in 1938 and to celebrate the occasion the twenty-fifth meeting (Silver Jubilee Session) was held as a joint session of the Indian Science Congress Association and the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Calcutta from January 3rd to 9th, 1938 under the auspices of the University of Calcutta.” *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 17.

[13] J. C. Bose (1858–1937) was a legendary plant physicist of India who invented the crescograph and pioneered radio science research in India.

[14] A delegate, Dr. A. B. Rendle, was hospitalized in Bombay on arrival. He died on his return to England, shortly afterward. Dr. W. W. Vaughan, another delegate, met with a bizarre accident while in Agra. He succumbed to his injuries after being hospitalized. See British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 26. Jung himself fell seriously ill while in Calcutta.

[15] C. G. Jung, “The Dreamlike World of India” (1939), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), § 982.

[16] W. S. Caine, *Picturesque India* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1898), p. 1.

[17] Jung wrote: “A walk through the bustle of Bombay’s bazaars set me thinking. I had felt the impact of the dreamlike world of India.” Jung, “The Dreamlike World of India,” p. 515.

[18] E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the*

Years 1946–1961 (Zürich: Daimon, 1985), p. 78.

[19] "Opportunities were afforded for visiting departments of the University, St. Xavier's College, the Royal Institute of Science, the Grant Medical College, the Haffkine Institute, and other institutions, and also for seeing something of the many points of interest in the city and its neighbourhood. Lectures or short addresses were given by Sir James Jeans, F.R.S., Prof. F. A. E. Crew (two). Dr. F. W. Aston, F.R.S., Dr. C. S. Myers, C.B.E., F.R.S. (two). Dr. C. G. Darwin,

F.R.S., Prof. R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., Mr. H. J. E. Peake, and Prof. H. J. Fleure, F.R.S. ; and Mr. H. M. Hallsworth, C.B.E., had a discussion with advanced students in the Department of Economics in the University. Prof. Winifred Cullis, C.B.E., addressed Bombay University women at the Cama Hospital. It may be stated here, and taken as applying at all points throughout India where general or public lectures were given by delegates, that the numbers and enthusiasm of the audiences were such as to gratify and even astonish the visitors. Broadcasts were given from the Bombay station of All-India Radio by Prof. Winifred Cullis, C.B.E., and Prof. F. A. E. Crew. The party left Bombay in the afternoon." British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 28.

[20] Caine, *Picturesque India*, p. 6.

[21] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 29.

[22] Sir James Jeans's messages to the press from different stations of the congressional tour highlighted the rich experiences of the visitors. See "Dinner to British Scientists, Bombay Reception: Leaders' Tribute to India," *Times of India*, Dec. 20, 1937, p. 18; "British Scientists in Delhi, Hospitality of Capital," *Times of India*, Dec. 27, 1937, p. 18; "British Scientists at Madras," *Hindustan Times*, January 13, 1938, p. 11; "Scientists Help to India, Arrival in Bangalore," *Times of India*, January 13, 1938, p. 13; and "Sir James Jeans Farewell Message," *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 16, 1938, p. 6.

[23] Caine, *Picturesque India*, pp. 473–474.

[24] Caine, *Picturesque India*, pp. 403–404.

[25] Caine, *Picturesque India*, p. 389.

[26] James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ*

(London: India Museum, 1868; reprinted: Whitefish, MO: Kessinger Publishing, 2004).

[27] C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, edited by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), pp. 278–279.

[28] See chapter 1, "Introduction," for more on Jung's understanding of the collective unconscious.

[29] C. G. Jung, "Psychology and Religion" (1938), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), § 6.

[30] C. G. Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity" (1948), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), § 274.

[31] C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1: 1906–1950*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 538.

[32] *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, 1938, Silver Jubilee Session* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939), p. 39.

[33] Jung, "The Dreamlike World of India," § 990.

[34] Caine, *Picturesque India*, pp. 211–212.

[35] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 30.

[36] "British Scientists in Delhi, Hospitality of Capital," *Times of India*, December 27, 1937, p. 18. See the full report in appendix A, "Archival Extracts—Jung's Public Engagements."

[37] Caine, *Picturesque India*, pp. 301–302.

[38] The details of Alice Boner's life and times are taken from Alfred Würfel, *India, My Karma: Alfred Würfel Remembers* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2004).

[39] Würfel, *India, My Karma*, p. 115.

[40] From the entry for December 28, 1937, Alice Boner, *Diaries, 1934–1967* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993), p. 253. This is reproduced in full in appendix B, "Archival Extracts—Personal Memoirs."

[41] Both Boner and Würfel wrote that Jung visited the Kashi Vishwanath Temple with them.

[42] Caine, *Picturesque India*, p. 302.

[43] Würfel, *India, My Karma*, p. 165.

[44] Caine, *Picturesque India*, pp. 309–310.

[45] Würfel, *India, My Karma*, p. 165.

[46] Jung's private diary mentions "Ape Temple, temple of Kali-Durga and Temple of Shiva."

[47] Würfel, *India, My Karma*, p. 164.

[48] *Ibid*.

[49] Boner, *Diaries, 1934–1967*, p. 253.

[50] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 31.

[51] Madan Mohan Malaviya was an Indian educator, vice-chancellor of Banaras Hindu University from 1919 to 1938, and president of the Indian National Congress.

[52] See www.http://arwindvasavada.webs.com. Vasavada mentioned Jung's visit to Benares, but muddled the details of that occasion by saying that both Freud and Jung visited India in 1938 to receive commemorations. Freud never came to India.

[53] "Sir James Jeans, the leader of the British delegates and president-elect of the Indian Science Congress, stated in an interview that he and the other delegates had had a delightful tour in India . . . He did not want to compare them with one another, but what had impressed him most was Benares, where they had an opportunity of seeing the magnificent ghats from the river in the morning. The city possesses something unique in its character." "Science Congress Delegates: Arrival in Calcutta," *Times of India*, December 31, 1937, p. 14.

[54]Elspeth J. Boog-Watson, *Beyond the Sunset: A Book of Explorers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 173–174.

[55] Jung once told Laurens van der Post that the British had a love for sports and games in a classical sense and had even taught the Swiss to climb their mountains, a feat that parallels their engineering and scientific acumen. See Laurens van der Post, *Jung and the Story of Our Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), pp. 45–46.

[56] Caine, *Picturesque India*, p. 350.

[57] Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*, pp. 110–113. The passage from Wolfgang

von Goethe, *Faust*, part 1, “Outside the City Gate,” translated by Philip Wayne (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), quoted in Bennet:

> Ah, happy he who still can hope to rise,
> Emerging from this sea of fear and doubt!
> What no man knows, alone could make us wise;
> And what we know, we well could do without.
> But let not mortal troubles cast their shades,
> Before this hour of sweet content has run,
> Mark, now, the glimmering in the leafy glades,
> Of dwellings gilded by the setting sun.
> Now slants the fiery god towards the west,
> Hasting away, but seeking in his round
> New life afar: I long to join his quest,
> On tireless wings uplifted from the ground.
> Then should I see, in deathless evening-light,
> The world in cradled stillness at my feet,
> Each valley hushed, fire touching every height,
> While silver brooks in golden rivers meet.
> Then mountains could not check my god-like flight,
> With wild ravine or savage rocky ways;
> But lo, the sea, with warm and tranquil bays,
> Would hold its beauty to my wondering sight.
> And now at length the sun-god seems to sink,
> Yet stirs my heart with new-awakened might,
> The streams of quenchless light I long to drink,
> Before me day and, far behind, the night,
> The heavens above me, and the waves below:
> A lovely dream, but gone with set of sun.
> Ah me, the pinions by the spirit won
> Bring us no flight that mortal clay can know.
> And yet an inborn impulse bids us rise,
> As with an aspiration, constant, strong,
> When, lost from sight in blue and dazzling skies,
> The skylark scatters thrilling shafts of song,
> Or when, above the pines and mountain trees,
> The eagles wide of pinion veer and sway,
> And far across the open plains and seas
> The stately cranes will wing their homeward way.

[58] Jung, *Letters*, *Vol. 2*, p. 567.

[59] C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, vol. 12, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), § 123.

[60] In her diaries, Alice Boner talks of her friend Lama Anagarika (Anagarika Govinda), who frequented Darjeeling. Others, like W. Y. Evans-Wentz, studied Tibetan Buddhism and translated original Tibetan texts. Evans-Wentz’s collaborator was Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup, who had also

collaborated with John Woodroffe (writing as Arthur Avalon) in translating Buddhist texts into English. Jung would have been familiar with Darjeeling as he was in correspondence with Evans-Wentz during the 1930s. Jung wrote the psychological commentary on Evans-Wentz's edition of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* in 1935. See C. G. Jung, "Psychological Commentary on *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*" (1953), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958).

[61] Caine, *Picturesque India*, p. 356. It is here that Jung would have picked up two drawings of mandalas, which are in the family archives in Zürich.

[62] Jung's personal records mention his illness surfacing in Siliguri, a station in northern Bengal from where the delegation departed to travel back to Calcutta.

[63] Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita), Swami Vivekananda's renowned disciple, had been afflicted by this disease when she was preparing to tour Darjeeling with Jagadish Chandra Bose. Sister Nivedita succumbed to the disease and died at Bose's residence in Darjeeling. See Monoranjon Gupta, *Jagadish Chandra Bose: A Biography* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1964), p. 90.

[64] Justina Hill, *Silent Enemies: The Story of the Diseases of War and Their Control* (New York: G. P. Putnams' Sons, 1942), p. 173.

[65] "Dr. Schmid was treating Jung for the amoebic dysentery he contracted during his stay in India." Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 244.

CHAPTER 5

IN THE VORTEX OF CALCUTTA

> Fate will have it—and this has always been the case with me—that all the "outer" aspects of my life should be accidental. Only what is interior has proved to have substance and a determining value. As a result, all memory of outer events has faded, and perhaps these "outer" experiences were never so very essential anyhow, or were so only in that they coincided with phases of my inner development.
>
> —Carl Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*

The Ceremonial Welcome

The chain of events that followed as Jung arrived at the congressional venue of Calcutta may have slipped Jung's shadowy recollections in course of time. But however outward and inconsequential, they form an integral part of his experience of the East, and it is necessary to recount them to see how they shaped his attitude toward India in his later years.

The celebrations resumed as the scientific party disembarked in Calcutta on January 2, 1938, to take part in the congressional proceedings. A report in the newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* provides some of the details.

OVERSEAS DELEGATES ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA FROM DARJEELING
Hearty Reception Accorded
Entertained at a Party at Sir U. N. Brahmachari's Residence

The overseas delegation to the Indian Science Congress, Silver Jubilee Session, arrived in Calcutta on Sunday morning by special train from Darjeeling and on arrival were received by members of the Local Reception Committee and taken to their respective addresses.

Sir James Jeans was garlanded on arrival and taken to the Government House in a State car escorted by an A. D. C. in civilian dress.

Afternoon Party
At Sir U. N. Brahmachari's House

To meet Sir James Jeans, the President, and the British and foreign delegates to the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress, Sir U. N. Brahmachari gave an afternoon party at his residence in Loudon Street, Calcutta, yesterday (Sunday).[1]

***Source: Amrita Bazar Patrika,* January 3, 1938, 7.**

Jung's diary referred to an intestinal infection in Siliguri, an overnight journey with a sore throat and dysentery, and finally shifting to the Presidency General Hospital on January 3–4. Despite the uneasiness with his health, Jung seemed to be geared up for the celebrations in Calcutta. The local reception committee had organized a ferry ride for the delegation on the Hooghly River on the afternoon of January 3. Two steamers left from Outram Ghat and one from Jagannath Ghat at 2 p.m.[2] Jung ventured toward Belur on the ferry, spending the afternoon in the company of Boshi Sen, whom he had been very much looking forward to meeting.[3]

Boshi had been in touch with Jung since their last meeting in Zürich in 1935.[4] As a plant scientist and director of the Vivekananda Laboratory in Almora, Boshi was a member of the Indian Science Congress Association and was scheduled to attend the congressional proceedings.[5] After his move to Almora, Boshi spent much of his time conducting plant research at his hillside laboratory, visiting Calcutta only occasionally. Calcutta was home to Boshi's spiritual school, the Ramakrishna Mission, and knowing of Jung's interest in Vedanta philosophy, he was eager to take him to Belur. Jung was keen to visit Belur Math, as he had been acquainted with the Vedanta school since the early thirties (see p. 25). Fowler McCormick accompanied him, and the party traveled by the ferry on the afternoon of January 3, 1938.



Figure 5.1: Jung at the Ramakrishna Mission, Belur, along with Fowler McCormick and a monk in January 1938. Jung visited the Ramakrishna Math, Belur, along with Boshi Sen, who sent him this photograph from India. Credit: Jung Family Archive.

Belur Math, the headquarters of the Ramakrishna Mission, is situated on the western banks of the River Hooghly in West Bengal. It was founded by Swami Vivekananda in 1899 as a mark of universal brotherhood and unity. The sanctum contains the relics of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and is a popular spiritual retreat. The marble statue of Ramakrishna, seated on a hundred-petal lotus in *samadhi,* came to signify for Jung the essence of Eastern spirituality. "Samadhi is 'withdrawnness,' i.e., a condition in which all connections with the world are absorbed into the inner world. Samadhi is the eighth phase of the Eightfold Path."[6] The dissolution of consciousness, characteristic of Eastern spirituality, reminded Jung of an essential difference between Western and Eastern psychology:

> The fact that the East can dispose so easily of the ego seems to point to a mind that is not to be identified with our "mind." Certainly the ego does not play the same role in Eastern thought as it does with us. It seems as if the Eastern mind were less egocentric, as if its

> contents were more loosely connected with the subject, and as if greater stress were laid on mental states which include a depotentiated ego . . . There is no doubt that the higher forms of yoga, in so far as they strive to reach samadhi seek a mental condition in which the ego is practically dissolved.[7]

While exploring the psychological aspects of Yoga philosophy, Jung found that the Indian mentality was oriented very differently from the Western mind. In a letter to Walter Lewino, dated April 1948, he made this observation:

> Indian thought (f.i., Ramakrishna and many others) is based upon a mentality still "contained in the mother," because the general mood in India is the matriarchal . . . It is most difficult to compare the Indian mentality with ours. It could be compared, however, with the mood of Scholastic philosophy, but that is for us about 600 years ago.[8]

In 1936, in an essay in the Ramakrishna Birth Centenary edition of *Prabuddha Bharata*, Jung had said, "I will remain silent on the subject of the meaning of Yoga for India, because I cannot presume to judge something which I do not know from personal experience."[9] Now he had had a direct encounter with the East, and the stopover at Calcutta would give him the opportunity to deliberate on Yoga psychology with Indian scholars. Talking to Miguel Serrano in 1959 about his experience of Hindu religious philosophy, Jung said:

> I was there some time ago, trying to convince the Hindus that it is impossible to get rid of the idea of the ego or of consciousness, even in the deepest state of the s*amadhi*. When I was at the University of Calcutta in Bengal, I discussed this matter with various Brahman doctors and professors, but they were unable to understand. I tried to explain to them that if Ramakrishna, for example, had been able to get rid of his consciousness completely in his moments of profound ecstasy, then those very moments would have been non-existent. . . . Since the unconscious really means the not-conscious, nobody can gain that state while he is alive, and be able to remember it afterwards, as the Hindus claim. In order to remember, one must have a conscious spectator, who is the self or the conscious being. I discussed all this with the Maharaja of Mysore's guru.[10]

Jung also noted in a letter written in 1956 to Mr. N (a man from India living in Europe), that Indian philosophy was anchored in metaphysical thinking: "The conceptions of Indian philosophy however are thoroughly philosophical and have the character of postulates" as opposed to "analytical psychology [which] is an empirical science and . . . individuation [is] an empirical process."[11] Several of Jung's insights about Eastern consciousness came from his direct experience of India during his stay in Calcutta and from

his interactions with scholars and philosophers during his travels across the Indian subcontinent. He was not disenchanted with what he found but wished to explore more. It is possible that Jung ventured into the city to visit some Hindu temples after his Belur excursion. Fowler McCormick recalled that Jung visited the Kali temples in India before he fell ill.

> As we would go through temples of Kali, which were numerous at almost every Hindu city, we saw the evidences of animal sacrifice: the places were filthy dirty—dried blood on the floor and lots of remains of red betel nut all around, so that the colour red was associated with destructiveness. Concurrently in Calcutta Jung began to have a series of dreams in which the colour red was stressed. It wasn't long before dysentery overcame Dr. Jung and I had to take him to the English hospital at Calcutta . . . A more lasting effect of this impression of the destructiveness of Kali was the emotional foundation it gave him for the conviction that evil was not a negative thing but a positive thing . . . The influence of that experience in India, to my mind, was very great on Jung in his later years.[12]

Jung may have been at the Kalighat temple on January 3 before he was hospitalized that evening. Famed as one of the fifty-one *shaktipithas* (places of consecration of the goddess Shakti) and celebrated for its religious and mythological significance, Kalighat and its crowded temple alleys would have been overwhelming for Jung, if he indeed visited the place. The blood-smeared premises, the dingy gullies, the swarming crowds, and the overpowering tropical air may have reminded him of Benares. The temple was also famed for its ritual animal sacrifice offered to the goddess Kali. Fowler's allusion that Jung's sickness was directly linked to his visit to the Hindu temples implied the deep and disturbing effect that the temple sites had on Jung. Despite the precarious condition of his health, Jung was disappointed that his illness surfaced just as the congressional session began.[13]

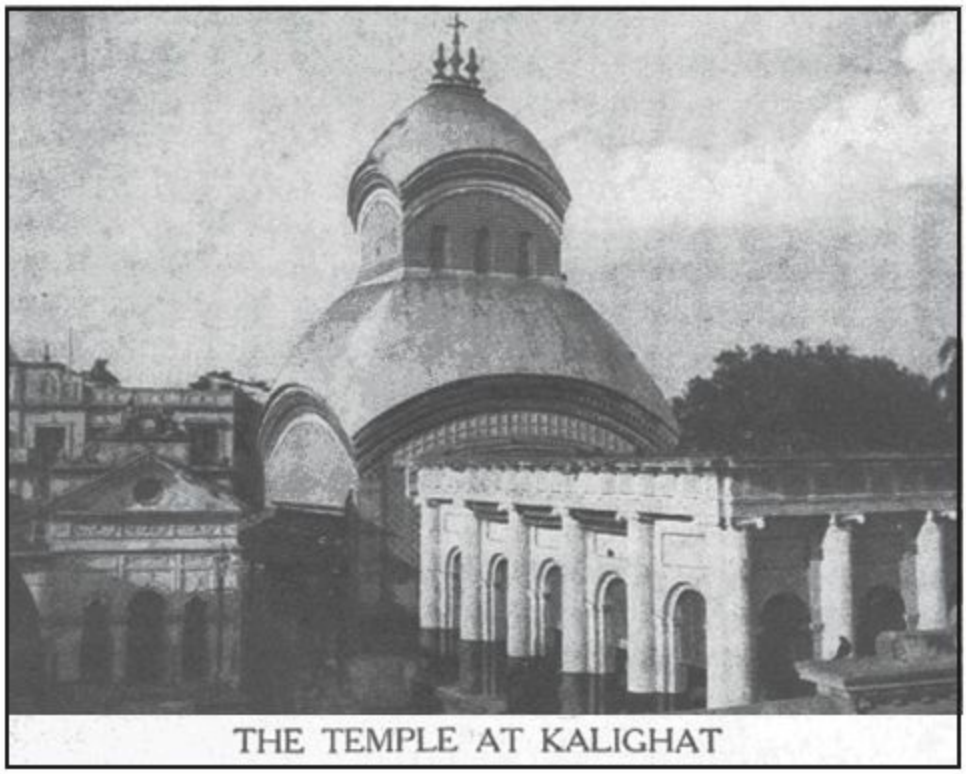


Figure 5.2: The Kali temple in Calcutta. Jung visited the Kali temples in Benares and Calcutta before he fell ill. Credit: Photograph courtesy the Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Kolkata – 700016.

Calcutta—First Capital of British India

While Benares epitomized the essence of ancient India, Calcutta embodied the spirit of British India. Both cities symbolized for Jung an alien culture and history. As an erstwhile imperial hub, Calcutta's history encapsulates the early incursions of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British. The discovery of an obscure countryside in 1690 by an intrepid British officer named Job Charnock marked Calcutta's unusual historical origins. Charnock found the site perfect for British military and trading activities. The original terrain of a wet marshland and mangrove swamp was transformed into a strategic British outpost following Robert Clive's historic annexation of Bengal (at the Battle of Plassey). The city's meteoric rise from a nondescript, obscure settlement to a bustling cultural and political center in a span of two hundred years encompasses Calcutta's historical evolution and its fame as the first capital of British India.[14]

In the 1930s, Calcutta was a prominent British outpost. Although no longer the capital, it was still a melting pot for culture, science, and nationalism of the newly rising modern India. The Bengal Renaissance had infused the social milieu of Calcutta with the spirit of liberalism, and this had fostered the growth of art, science, and spirituality. As a commercial hub of the East India Company, Calcutta was also a flourishing trading station for jute, textiles, and the infamous narcotic opium. The growth of the city was evident from the roads, bridges, railways, and telegraph lines that had been laid by the British since the time they had declared it an imperial capital in 1773. Despite its reputation as a prominent colonial hub, Calcutta was not without its flaws. It lagged behind in civic amenities and infrastructure, and due to its proximity to marshland, the city was a virtual hellhole of tropical diseases. The deplorable public health situation and the poor civic facilities marred its august reputation.

On the other hand, Calcutta was a thriving cultural and political center. The establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1784 had engendered its intellectual and cultural life, for the Asiatic Society was not only a literary hub but also a pioneer in scientific research. In 1938, when Jung encountered Calcutta, the city was segregated into the White Town and the Black Town, but a class of well-educated, liberal Indians had also gained prominence in academia, polity, and administration.[15] The city now represented a blend of East and West and carried a peculiar Indo-Anglican ethos, which Jung experienced vividly during his stay.

A Blessed Island in the Wild Sea of New Impressions

Meanwhile, Jung's illness could be contained no longer, and a trip to the hospital became inevitable. According to his private journal, on January 3, he was taken to the Presidency General (PG) Hospital close to the Grand Hotel on Chowringhee Road. Arrangements would have been made by the local reception committee, as the host team was in charge of looking after the visiting delegates. In any case, Fowler was by Jung's side. As per the congressional arrangements, Jung had been accommodated at the Grand Hotel along with Fowler McCormick and other members of the delegation, but his stay there was short-lived.[16] His condition had deteriorated so much that Fowler became worried.[17]

The hospital where Jung was admitted in Calcutta has an illustrious

history. It was here that Edward Hare discovered quinine and Sir Ronald Ross conducted his research on the malaria parasite; Ross was later awarded the Nobel Prize. The hospital originally catered to Europeans, but it was opened up to Indians in 1925 when Michael Madhusudan Dutta became its first Indian patient.



Figure 5.3: The Presidency General Hospital in Calcutta, where Jung was admitted for six days in January 1938, as it appears today. Credit: Photograph courtesy the author.

> The first hospital in Calcutta was begun in 1709, with the (East India) Company contributing Rs. 2000 and European inhabitants and sailors the rest. This was the Presidency General (PG) Hospital (now Seth Sukhlal Karnani Memorial Hospital). Its original site was in Garstin Place; in 1769 it moved to a larger building brought from the Reverend J. Z. Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary in Bengal.[18]

Jung was in capable hands at the Presidency General Hospital, but the break from the official routine was what he had least expected. Given the way things shaped up later, he conceded that it was a timely breather. A strange medley of events had surfaced at the congress while Jung was in the hospital. The confabulations between the British and Indian scientists were not of particular interest to him and the mawkish congressional environment made him uneasy, but what distressed him further was that more people were familiar with Freud's work than his own.[19] Very few in the visiting

delegation actually came from the field of psychology.[20] Jung had no explicit links with the two psychologists of the British delegation, C. S. Myers (industrial psychology) and C. Spearman (professor emeritus of psychology), and unlike them and other members of the delegation he had no real links with the colonial administrators in India.[21] Jung's links with India were indirect and outside the purview of imperial polity. The feeling of alienation was also accentuated when he witnessed the conduct of the Englishmen during the congress.[22]

> I had many opportunities to study the English voice in India. Voices are treacherous; they reveal far too much. You marvel at the fantastic efforts people make to sound gay, fresh, welcoming, enterprising, jolly, benevolent, good comradeship, and so on. And you know it is merely an attempt to cover up the real truth, which is very much the reverse. It makes you tired listening to those unnatural sounds, and you long for somebody to say something unkind or brutally offensive. You cannot help noticing how a great number of perfectly nice and decent Englishmen elaborately imitate a he-man voice, God knows why . . . The Father Christmas voice is a special variety, usually affected by academically trained specimens. I discovered that particularly trained boomers were quite modest and decent chaps, with a noticeable feeling of inferiority. What a superhuman burden it is to be the overlords of a continent like India![23]

Jung also found that the psychologists of Calcutta were in close contact and communion with Freud. While he had been invited by the British government to receive the prestigious degree *honoris causa* in recognition of his extraordinary work in the field of psychology, it now appeared to Jung that he had no real link with Indian psychologists and no formal or informal ties with the scientific fraternity of India.[24] His feeling of alienation in the congressional environment was to be expected given this backdrop although it is difficult to fathom what exactly transpired in him at that time. The long travel across the historical locales, the hectic congressional itinerary, and the outbreak of his illness had exhausted him physically. The realities of the congressional environment bemused him further. The six-day seclusion in the hospital gave him time to reflect on this bewildering muddle.[25] Referring to his stay at the hospital, he said: "This was a blessed island in the wild sea of new impressions, and I found a place to stand on from which I could contemplate the ten thousand things and their bewildering turmoil."[26]

Jung was fairly disoriented by the time the disease set in. After he returned to his hotel, a momentous dream of the grail helped him regain his composure. The dream brought his attention back to his Western world and his unfinished work and revealed to him how deeply he had become

entangled with the affairs of India. In the dream, Jung and a few of his friends undertake an arduous journey in search of the Holy Grail. A long and difficult trail to find the grail leaves his companions exhausted or asleep, and only Jung is left to retrieve the grail before the celebrations at the castle begin. This sequence of events in the dream reminded Jung of the long and difficult task that lay ahead of him. Jung realized that the work of the "too-long-neglected concerns of the Occident" had to be attended to, and India was not his destination:

> I was taken out of the world of India, and reminded that India was not my task, but only a part of the way—admittedly a significant one—which should carry me closer to my goal. It was as though the dream were asking me, "What are you doing in India? Rather seek for yourself and your fellows the healing vessel, the *servator mundi*, which you urgently need."[27]

Many years before, Jung had referred to the conflict between East and West while describing Richard Wilhelm's illness.[28] In his own Eastern encounter, Jung also experienced a conflict, but in a way different from Wilhelm's. Jung's situation was that while he was interested in India and engaged with its philosophy and culture, India seemed to be disinterested and even ignorant about his work. The disease set in precisely when this paradox surfaced; thus for Jung it was not just an outer disruption in the flow of events, but an emotional and spiritual break from the India that he had held in his mind. Jung was jolted when he realized that there was a gap between how he had involved himself in the world of India and the way India itself perceived him and his work. The "blessed island in the wild sea of new impressions" was a timely breather in the midst of this turmoil and was critical in aligning him back with his own world.

Jung's Brush with Indian Psychology and the Closing Events of the Science Congress

The official celebrations of the congress were in full swing when Jung was in the hospital. The University College of Science was bustling with the activities. As head of the Department of Experimental Psychology at the University College of Science in Calcutta, and the president-elect of the psychology section, Girindrasekar Bose was officially in charge of the proceedings of the psychology section of the congress. In fact, Bose had

already written to Freud about his role and shared a paper, written by his colleague, which was to be presented at the psychology session.[29] Bose had kept up his links with Freud during the decade of the thirties. Aside from their periodic correspondence, Bose's daughter and son-in-law had visited Freud in Vienna in 1932. Bose had thanked Freud for the warmth and hospitality that the latter had shown toward his family.[30] In 1931, on the occasion of Freud's seventy-fifth birthday, Bose had sent Freud felicitations (with commemorative scrolls and an ivory statuette) on behalf of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society.[31] Their interactions had become less frequent over time, but news of the Science Congress had reached Freud through Bose in the autumn of 1937. Freud's letter to Bose in return was quick and approving.[32] He congratulated Bose on his election as the president and applauded S. C. Mitra's paper. Freud's response (by his own admission) was hasty; he was not fit to travel to India, and most likely he had heard that Jung had been invited for the same congress. His letter was followed by one from Anna Freud a few days later, commending S. C. Mitra's paper and regretting her inability to travel to such distant lands. This could well have been a response to an invitation that Bose may have extended to the Freuds. It seems unlikely that Bose would have been ignorant of Jung and Freud's relationship, given that he was in close touch with several of Freud's followers in India and abroad. How all this shaped Bose's own attitude toward Jung, a celebrated presence at the congress, is another subject altogether.[33] Whatever his ideological tolerance, Bose made no particular effort to acquaint himself with Jung during the congressional celebrations.[34] Members of the psychology fraternity showed little interest in visiting Jung in the hospital or elsewhere during the congress. In this context, Ashis Nandy writes:

> On the other hand, the impact of Jung on the first generation of Indian psychoanalysts was limited, despite the overlap between his theories and aspects of traditional Indian thought. This is surprising when one remembers that Bose and some of his associates were well-versed in traditional philosophy and should have found Jung especially attractive. As inexplicable seems the fact that, though Jung visited India in 1938 and it was a triumphant visit, Bose probably did not meet him.
>
> Were these measures of the loyalty of the Indian group to psychoanalytic orthodoxy, as Hartnack assumes? Were Indian psychoanalysts repelled by Jung's inadequate knowledge of Indian traditions, as some of them were to later claim? Or did Freud meet some deeper needs in Indians, who were searching at the time not so much for in-house criticisms as for a critical theory adequately discontinuous with a psychologically minded culture and able to serve as a

> radical critique of it? Probably the latter . . . Jung probably was too close to India to serve as a base for social criticism or to avoid cultural incorporation of the kind Bose nearly brought off in the case of Freud.[35]

While one or all of these factors may be a plausible explanation as to why Jung never evoked any serious interest in Indian psychologists, the events at the 1938 congress where Bose and Jung were both present also contributed to creating a divide. On January 5, a Wednesday, Bose delivered the presidential address for the psychology section and on Friday morning, January 7, the psychology section conducted its annual session, "Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology," at the department. The psychology wing hosted a luncheon at the University College of Science for the visiting members and organized an excursion to the psychology laboratory in the afternoon. The annual meeting of the Indian Psychological Association was also held on January 7, after the sectional events were concluded.[36] Jung's presence is recorded at one of the events, but no significant interaction between him and any Indian psychologist took place during this time.[37] Bose's inaugural address made no reference to Jung, and it appears that for all practical purposes Jung was ignored by the representatives of Indian psychology.

Jung's name, however, cropped up circuitously during the actual deliberations at the psychology session. This was because Bose was not the only one who had links with Freud. There were others in the fraternity who followed Freud's ideas and were keen to see the growth of Indian psychology in line with Western science.[38] One among Freud's loyalists was a former officer of the Indian Medical Service, Colonel Owen Berkeley-Hill.[39] Berkeley-Hill was a prominent figure in the history of colonial psychiatry. A colonialist who had taken his medical degree from Oxford and had made India his home in the early decades of 1900s, Berkeley-Hill had picked up the brass tacks of psychology during his military postings in India and was instrumental in setting up the European Mental Health Asylum in Ranchi in central India, which he administered from 1919 to 1934. Working in the Indian Military Service under the British regime, Berkeley-Hill's experience of psychiatric disorders was in the intimate, multiracial environment of pre-independent India.[40] Closely known to Freud and Ernest Jones (who was also Berkeley-Hill's analyst in London), Berkeley-Hill was actively involved with the mental health institutions in India in his lifetime. He was a member of the

psychoanalytic group led by Girindrasekhar Bose, and although the two did not share similar ideologies, Berkeley-Hill was an inseparable part of the psychology fraternity of colonial India and a noticeable presence at the congress.[41] The atmosphere was decidedly Freudian at the annual psychology congress, and therefore it was not surprising that Jung's name was not entertained during the deliberations.

Bose was also on good terms with Berkeley-Hill's mentor Ernest Jones, as it had been Jones who had helped Bose affiliate the Indian Psychoanalytical Society internationally. Ernest Jones's relation with Jung, on the other hand, was awkward. Although Jung had once been with Jones in Freud's fold, Jones had become Freud's chief advocate, while Jung had withdrawn from Freud's circle. Jones and Jung were ideologically opposed and did not share much collegiality.[42]

However incredible it may appear now, the fact remains that Ernest Jones was present in Calcutta at the psychology proceedings of the Silver Jubilee Congress of January 1938, when Jung was recuperating in the hospital. Jones's name is absent from the official lists of invitees to the Silver Jubilee Science Congress.[43] In all likelihood, his visit was planned by Bose and the Indian Psychoanalytical Society. Jones was the president of the International Psychoanalytical Association from 1932 to 1949. As the editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and closely associated with Freud, he was influential in aligning the Indian psychoanalytic movement with the international body.[44] It is not known if Jung was aware of Jones's presence in Calcutta during the congress. The fact that Jones was in India during the Science Congress and was holding deliberations at the psychology session, championing Freud's name, has not surfaced as a historical finding anywhere before.[45]

It seems certain that Jones, one of Freud's most ardent supporters (and later his biographer), was in Calcutta during the Indian Science Congress attending the annual Indian psychology session because his name is found in the report of the congressional proceedings as a participant in the symposium "Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology" that took place on Friday, January 7.[46] Jones gave an extended speech during the session, following S. C. Mitra's introduction of the topic.[47] The deliberations were open to members of the psychology departments of Indian academia and also to invited members like Jones and Berkeley-Hill who had links with

the Indian and international psychoanalytical associations. Jones's speech focused on the terms *abnormal psychology* and *medical psychology* and on the role of psychoanalysis in addressing mental suffering.

Speaking on the deliberations, members such as Jamuna Prosad criticized S. C. Mitra's presentation for ignoring other schools of psychology, especially Jung's and Adler's, but Mitra's response to the criticism that he had sidelined other schools of psychology was firm and unapologetic:

> Prof. Jamuna Prosad points out that all the schools of psychology to which I have referred have made valuable contributions independently of the findings of abnormal psychology and takes me to task for denouncing all these schools and for my failure to consider the researches of Jung and Adler . . . I have not specially mentioned the researches of Jung and Adler not because I do not consider them valueless but simply because what is valuable in them has been incorporated in the Freudian system.[48]

It is not clear which of Jung's and Adler's ideas had already been incorporated in the Freudian system. Perhaps the esteemed members were not fully informed about Jung's writings on psychological types, individuation, dream analysis, and so on, in relation to the discussion topic. Mitra's views were laced with references to Freud. While this was in no way objectionable, it is indeed curious that there was a refusal to discuss Adler and Jung, especially considering the fact that Jung was present in the city during the event.[49] Mitra's further justification for excluding Jung, Adler, and others, was this:

> I purposely refrain from discussing the merits and demerits of the various schools of normal psychology since as is pointed out by Jamuna Prosad "the subject matter of our discussion is not the contributions of normal psychology to abnormal psychology but the reverse". . . I repeat that I have not separately mentioned Jung, Adler and others' contributions as I believe that valuable factual materials of these researches as distinguished from the philosophy underlying them have been incorporated in the psycho-analytical system.[50]

It is pertinent to pause here and reflect on the context in which psychoanalysis was nurtured in colonial India. Freud and Jones's links with Bose, the influence of British educational policies on Indian academia, Bose's personal attraction to Freud's ideas (or his inability to grasp Jung's psychological conceptions), and lastly, his failure to engage with Jung during the congress reflect some of the circumstances around which psychology grew in colonial India. In many ways, Bose took an ideological stance by publicly distancing himself from Jung at the congress; he had much at stake. He could neither offend Jones nor earn the displeasure of group members,

many of whom were not keen to see Freud's and Adler's work discussed in the symposium.[51]

The larger educational scenario throws light on the influence that British educational policies had over Indian academia. The erstwhile vice-chancellor of the University of Calcutta, Sri Ashutosh Mukherjee, was a radical educator who had waged a spirited battle against the British in modernizing Indian education, keeping in mind nationalist ideals. His progressive vision had helped establish the country's first postgraduate Department of Experimental Psychology at the University College of Science. Mukherjee's strategy was to handpick Indian scholars who could be trained abroad and placed at the helm of the university. The influence of Western education on Indian academia goes back to those early days. At that time, there was also a concerted effort to locate psychology in the scientific domain.[52] Although Bose delved into ancient Indian texts in writing psychological essays, academic psychology in India remained essentially a Western scientific import.[53] Jung was an empiricist, trained in clinical and scientific methods, but his interests in alchemy, religion, and philosophy had alienated him from mainstream psychologists. Freud's veiled presence at the congress ruled out even a straightforward dialogue with Indian psychologists. Thus, Jung's first indirect brush with Indian psychology brought for him the most bewildering moments of his Indian sojourn.

Jung came out of the hospital when the concluding sessions of the congress were being held. In addition to the proceedings of the scientific sections at the congress, the University of Calcutta had also planned for a special convocation to confer the degree *honoris causa* on some of the delegates. The ceremony was planned for January 7, at the Government House (the governor of Bengal was the chancellor of the university). Jung's journal refers to a visit by Lord Linlithgow, viceroy of India at the hospital and a conferring of the doctor of science from the University of Allahabad in absentia.[54] In all probability, this means that Lord Linlithgow visited Presidency General Hospital to personally convey to Jung the doctor of science honors from the University of Allahabad.[55] It is certain that Jung missed the afternoon ceremony of the Special Convocation of the University of Calcutta, at the Throne Room of the Governor's House on January 7 from the information found in the copy of the certificate in the archives.

The Throne Room of the Government House, Calcutta, presented an impressive spectacle

> yesterday when at a special Convocation of the University of Calcutta, nine of the visiting delegates of the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress Association and Sir William Holdsworth, Tagore Law Professor, 1937, were admitted to the Honorary Degree of Law by His Excellency the Chancellor, Lord Brabourne. In declaring the Convocation open His Excellency welcomed the delegates and observed that by honouring them the University was honouring itself.[56]

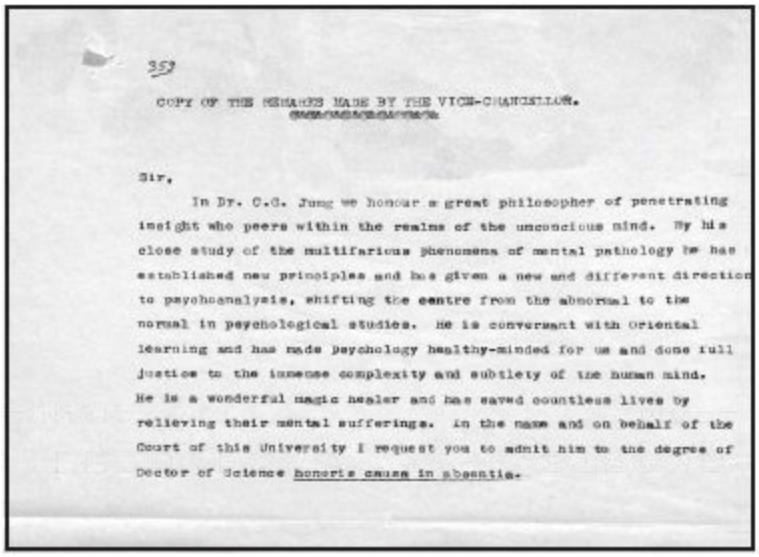
The same report states that "the visiting and Indian delegates of the Congress were entertained at a garden party given in the grounds of the Government House." Since Jung's name is seen in the list of members who attended the garden party, it is not clear if this function was held on January 8 and if Jung attended it after being discharged from the Presidency General hospital on the same day.

GOVERNOR'S PARTY
TWO THOUSAND GUESTS AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Two thousands guests were invited to the garden party given at Government house by His Excellency the Governor and The Lady Brabourne in honour of the members of the Indian Science Congress. The guests were received by Capt. Lord Ardee, A,-D,-C., and Capt. Brind. A,-D,-C. The arrival of His Excellency and The Lady Brabourne was heralded by a fanfare of trumpets . . .

At the Lady Brabourne's table were His Excellency the Governor of Orissa. The Hon Sir James Girgg. The right Hon Viscount Samuel. The Lady Tennyson, Sir James Jeans. Mrs. Chance. Captain P. H. W. Brind, Professor R. A. Fisher. Professor F. A. E. Crew. Mrs. Darwin. Sir Arthur Eddington, Sir James Henderson, Sir Arthur Hill, Professor C. G. Jung, Lieut. Colonel R. B. Seymour-Sewel. Professor F. J. M. Stratton, Professor B. Sahani, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye and Miss Aston.

Source: *The Statesman*, January 9, 1938, 12.



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COPY OF THE REMARKS MADE BY THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Sir,

In Dr. C.G. Jung we honour a great philosopher of penetrating insight who peers within the realms of the unconcious mind. By his close study of the multifarious phenomena of mental pathology he has established new principles and has given a new and different direction to psychoanalysis, shifting the centre from the abnormal to the normal in psychological studies. He is conversant with Oriental learning and has made psychology healthy-minded for us and done full justice to the immense complexity and subtlety of the human mind. He is a wonderful magic healer and has saved countless lives by relieving their mental sufferings. In the name and on behalf of the Court of this University I request you to admit him to the degree of Doctor of Science honoris causa in absentia.

Figure 5.4: The Vice Chancellor's remarks accompanying Jung's degree *honoris causa* from Allahabad University, 1937. "Sir, In Dr. C. G. Jung we honour a great philosopher of penetrating insight who peers within the realms of the unconcious [*sic*] mind. By his close study of the multifarious phenomena of mental pathology he has established new principles and has given a new and different direction to psychoanalysis, shifting the centre from the abnormal to the normal in psychological studies. He is conversant with Oriental learning and has made psychology healthy-minded for us and done full justice to the immense complexity and subtlety of the human mind. He is a wonderful magic healer and has saved countless lives by relieving their mental sufferings. In the name and on behalf of the Court of this University I request you to admit him to the degree of Doctor of Science honoris causa in absentia. Credit: Jung Family Archive.

Two Extraordinary Lectures

Concurrently, soon after his release from the hospital, Jung was called to fulfill his unfinished official engagements. Jung's journal mentions a compulsory lecture at the Science College (University College of Science), but this is an error, for Jung's lectures took place elsewhere and not at the University College of Science.

The congress was about to conclude, the university commemorations were over, but the festive gatherings and the popular lectures were on. Jung was invited to deliver two lectures on the university premises. The Indian Science Congress and the British Association reports do not make any reference of Jung's lectures (possibly because the original schedule would have been changed due to Jung's illness), but a local Calcutta daily captured the news of Jung's lectures. These archival reports are the only lasting evidence of Jung's public engagements in Calcutta.[57]

Jung's first lecture was a compulsory lecture, delivered at the historic Ashutosh Hall at Calcutta University on January 9. Ashutosh Hall was a landmark at the University of Calcutta, located near the Senate Hall and part of the original building that the government of India had constructed in 1872 to house the university's offices and classrooms.[58] The Ashutosh Building, where the hall was located, was a postgraduate center for the arts and humanities, named after India's pioneering educator Ashutosh Mukherjee. Jung's lecture was reported in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on January 10, 1938, in an article titled "What's Collective Unconscious? Empirical Matter—Prof. Jung's Definition of the Concept." In his talk, Jung elaborated the notion of the collective unconscious, a subject for which he had earned worldwide recognition. He distinguished it from the personal unconscious, and emphasized that this was not a philosophical concept, but an empirical one.

> Probably none of my concepts has met with so much misunderstanding as the idea of the Collective Unconscious. In the following I will try to give a definition of the concept, a description of what it means for psychology, an explanation of the method of proof and some examples.
>
> Although this reproach of mysticism has often been brought against my concept, I must emphasise again that the concept of the collective unconscious is neither a speculative nor a philosophical but an empirical matter.[59]

He reportedly illustrated his talk with slides, but no detailed account of these illustrations was presented in the article. It is not entirely improbable that Girindrasekhar Bose was present at that lecture. Although Jung's diary mentions the University College of Science as the venue of his lecture, he was not taken to the department of psychology at the university, nor was he introduced to the audience by any Indian psychologist.

It is pertinent to mention here that Jung's lecture in Calcutta on the collective unconscious was a slightly abridged version of Jung's original lecture given at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, in 1936, which was published later in the *Collected Works*. The original lecture has a section where Jung talks of proof and examples, which explains the slides that Jung may have used to illustrate his talk. Jung's opening statement and the overall contents of the lecture are the same as the original found in his *Collected Works*, and we can conclude from this that Jung was reading from the notes of this lecture when he delivered his address in Calcutta.[60]

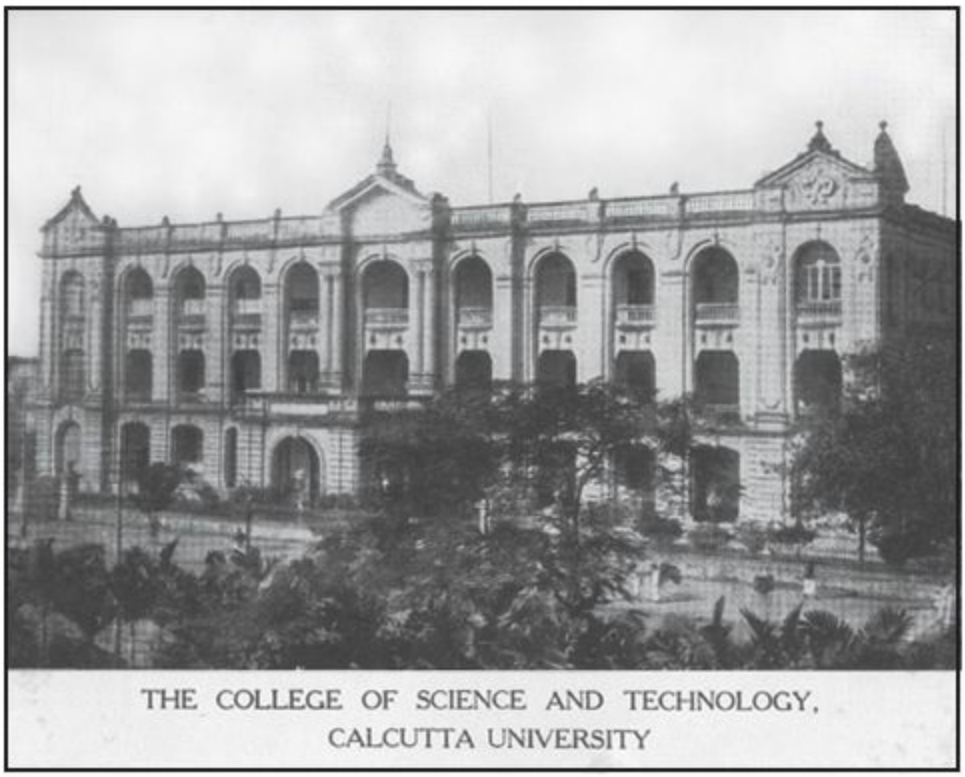


Figure 5.5: The historic University Science College in Calcutta, where several events of the Indian Science Congress of 1938 were held. Credit: Photograph courtesy The Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Kolkata – 700016.

Two days later, Jung gave a popular lecture, and this time, too, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* carried a report of it in the January 16 edition of the paper. The lecture was delivered at a well-known academic establishment named Ashutosh College, located in southern Calcutta in Bhowanipore. Two academicians introduced and presided over Jung's session; and this time the presenter explained to the audience Jung's standpoint and his differences with Freud.[61] As before, there was no representative from the psychology department present in any official capacity next to Jung. It is remarkable that despite the scientific honors conferred on him, Jung's lectures were held not in the scientific premises of the university but in the buildings of humanities and arts.[62]

In his second lecture, Jung spoke about the primitive instincts of man, inner urges, and his concept of the psychological types. He elaborated on various kinds of instincts, the creative and religious, the urge for money and power, and the basic urges of food and sex. His statements were simple and lucid, intended for an audience that was not fully conversant with the

particulars of analytical psychology. He explained how even fear, as an urge, drives man to action (primitive men who had ejected fear from their lives, he said, had become inactive and indolent), and he explained that it was necessary to understand man's inner urge in studying psychology. Jung then began an account of the psychological types, referring to extroverts and introverts. Although the second lecture was recorded more accurately than the first one, it did not summarize Jung's entire address. Regardless of this, as one of the very few surviving reports of Jung's formal talks at the Indian universities, it is an invaluable relic of Jung's journey of 1938.

It is useful to recall here that Jung's conception of psychological types, written in 1921, makes detailed observations about the psychological process of introversion or *tapas* in Indian meditation and explains the concept of Yoga practice in relation to this idea.[63] In his essay, Jung explains the dynamics of the introversion process, the withdrawal of the libido from outer objects, and the identity that is gained between the inner self and the outer world as an outcome of undergoing the meditative exercise of *tapas.* Jung had formulated these ideas long before he traveled to India, but he made no particular reference to them in his lecture at the university in Calcutta. Most certainly some of these ideas would have featured in the discussions that he had with Indian scholars on the sidelines of the congress during the closing events.

Jung's "Emotional Storm" and Some Unknown Encounters

Fowler McCormick, Alfred Würfel, and Boshi Sen had participated in the general proceedings and ceremonies and were in touch with Jung at the hospital, so we can be certain that news of the congressional proceedings and the psychology session would have reached Jung. It may have baffled Jung that Ernest Jones had come to Calcutta and that a Freudian group had held active deliberations at the psychology session of the congress; he may not have taken this lightly. He had several visitors during the week when he was recovering from his illness at the Presidency General Hospital, but the members of the psychology fraternity were not among them. In all probability, Jung did not meet Ernest Jones at any of the post-congressional gatherings. But Indra Sen, an Indian scholar who had attended the session where Jones was a speaker, sought out Jung for a meeting when the latter came out of the hospital.[64]

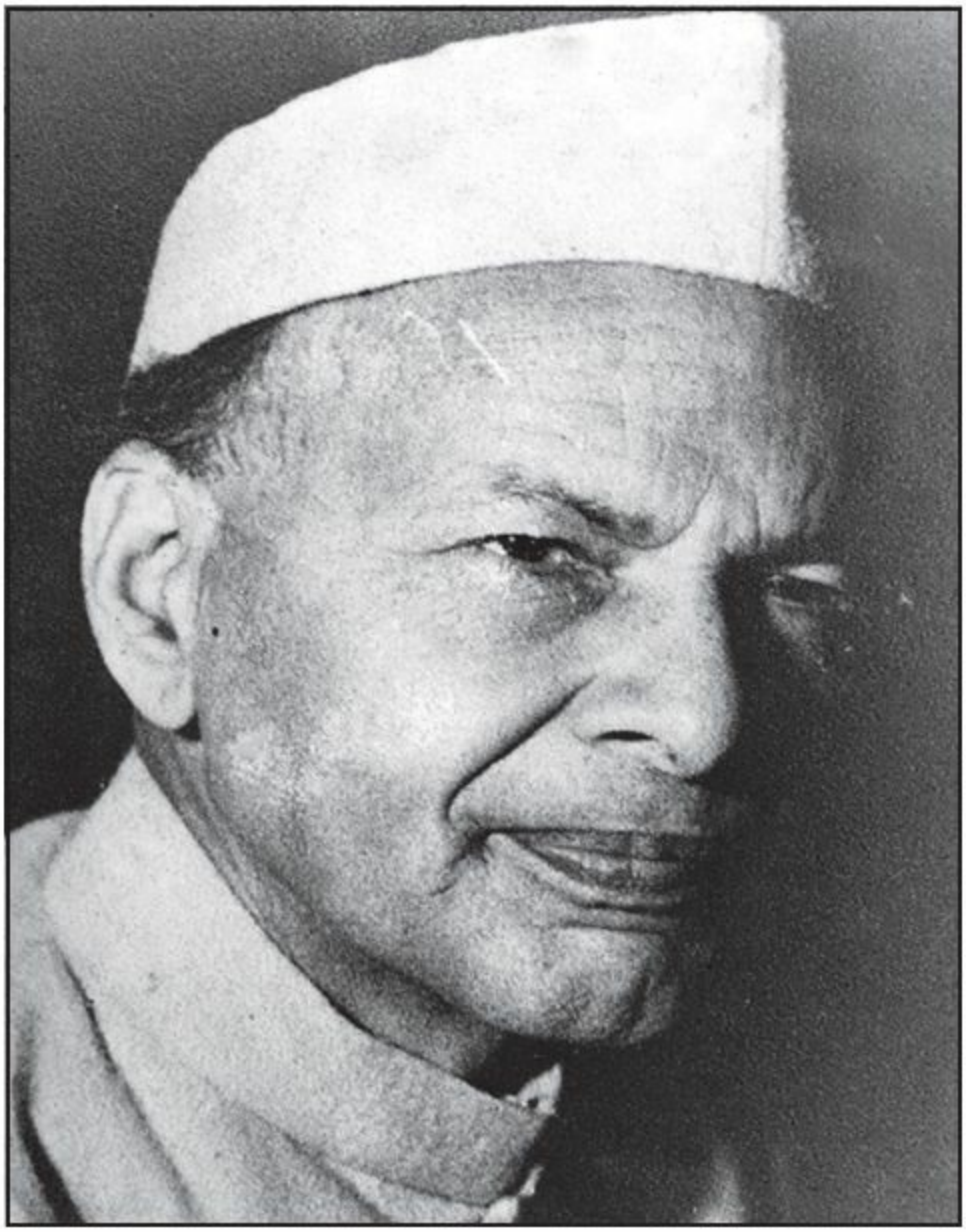


Figure 5.6: Dr. Indra Sen, Indian psychologist and philosopher, who met Jung in Calcutta during the Indian Science Congress of 1938 and interviewed him privately. Credit: Photograph courtesy Dr. Aster Patel, Savitri Bhavan, Auroville 605101, Tamil Nadu, India.

Indra Sen was a regular at the Science Congress gatherings and a prominent member of the Indian psychology fraternity in the colonial era.[65] Sen had earned his doctoral degree from the University of Freiburg, Germany, and was a professor of philosophy and psychology at the University of Delhi. He was acquainted with the works of Jung, Freud, and others. The psychology of Jung and the philosophy of Hegel appealed to him

enormously, and it did not take him long to see that Jung's presence at the congress was a rare occasion which he could well make use of by meeting the man himself. Jung granted Sen an interview but requested that the contents of it be kept private.[66] In all likelihood, the discussion had to do with Freud and the events of the just-concluded psychology session. News about Jones, Bose, Mitra, and others and especially the proceedings of the psychology session may have been conveyed to Jung by Sen himself just before the latter asked him about his relations with Freud. Sen recalls:

> I said to him, "I wish to know, I have a curiosity to know how your relations with Freud underwent a change." He hesitated but said, "I can tell you all that on condition that you don't publish it." I readily agreed and said that my interest was purely personal. He was pleased and he started narrating how he and Freud were travelling together to America to deliver lectures and they entered into an arrangement to tell each other their dreams of the previous night and try to interpret them. He then related to him his dream of going down into a cellar and yet farther down and then seeing a skull, more or less. Freud interpreted it in the terms of his sex theory and death wish. Jung, on the other hand, saw it as revealing the collective unconscious. And they could not agree on any one interpretation and their paths tended to diverge more and more.
>
> I had also then an occasion to see an emotional storm of his, a small one, which has helped me to understand the emotional storms he was liable to, of which his disciples make a mention.[67]

Indra Sen's report about Jung's emotional storm ends here as he was bound by his word to keep the contents of the meeting private. Sen's personal notes of the interview are not accessible, and the exact cause of Jung's emotional storm therefore remains unknown. It is possible that a discussion on Freud had preceded Jung's outburst and that Sen had conveyed to him the discussions of the just-concluded psychology session.

Whatever the cause, it was evident that Jung had entered a vortex of spiraling emotions in the wake of his illness. Aniela Jaffé (Jung's longtime assistant and colleague) has given a vivid account of Jung's emotional disposition in her book *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung,* where she says: "The old man's honesty, his regard for my sensibilities in warning me of his easily aroused anger and of his tendency to give vent to his annoyance, were an expression of his relatedness, in which, consideration and hard driving both played a part."[68] Jung had not expected to encounter a Freudian group at the congress. The fact that he was invited by the British Government to India for conferring the prestigious academic degrees conveyed to him the impression that there was a general acknowledgment of his work in India. As

far as he knew, Freud had no real interest or knowledge of Indian philosophy, religion, and culture.[69] Freud was also a vestige of an uneasy chapter of his life, a difficult and troubled link to the past, which he had not entirely come to terms with.[70] That he saw red, quite literally, at the way the events of the official psychology section had transpired can be understood when seen in light of that history.

Whatever the impact of these developments on his emotions, Jung had a long and illuminating talk with Sen. This conversation had a deep effect on the latter. While he did not divulge the details of the interview or pursue any contact with Jung subsequently, Sen followed Jung's ideas and deliberated on them long after Jung had left the subcontinent. Jung made no reference to Sen in any of his Indian reminiscences. In chapter 7 we will reflect on how this unusual encounter influenced Sen's future work at the Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry, where he eventually settled and founded the school of integral psychology.[71]

Jung resurfaced from his illness and from the surrounding muddle with remarkable alacrity. His dream of the Holy Grail revived his spirits, and his external demeanor improved gradually. He would not let himself be overtly distressed by the turn of events and set about preparing for the next leg of his journey with Fowler. He attended to his official tasks and presented himself at the closing ceremony of the congress on January 9.

> Good fellowship and understanding were the features of the Indian Science Congress Silver Jubilee dinner held at the Grand Hotel, Calcutta, last night, and which practically closed the session of the Congress. Mr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, Chairman of the Reception Committee, president and more than 500 guests including several European and Indian ladies, attended.[72]

Even as he busied himself with these activities, a welcome interruption came in the form of a meeting with Swami Pavitrananda, a monk from the Ramakrishna Order. The monk describes how he was introduced to Jung at a tea party organized in honor of the German scientists:

> A strong-built man, firmness and determination beaming through his placid face, though advanced in years with not much indication of age in him, it was Professor Jung.
>
> "How do you do, Professor? Are you perfectly all right?" (After coming to Calcutta he fell ill and had to go to hospital.)
>
> "I am all right. Thank you."

> “How long do you hope to be in Calcutta? I would be so glad to meet you some day.”
>
> “I am leaving Calcutta day after to-morrow. Why don’t you come to my place just now—along with me? Can you?”
>
> I was eager to have some friendly talks with him, and so I jumped at the idea.
>
> “Oh yes, I will.”
>
> I drove with the Professor to the hotel where he was staying.[73]

That evening’s meeting on January 12, 1938, was Jung’s last interaction with a member of the Ramakrishna Order in Calcutta. Jung had known of the Ramakrishna Order from the 1930s. By now he was aware that few from the mission were really familiar with the rudiments of analytical psychology, and so Jung lost no time in introducing the subject of the unconscious to the eager visitor, who had been unable to attend Jung’s lecture a few days earlier. He began to show Swami Pavitrananda images of mandalas, which he had presented as evidence of the unconscious in his lectures. The idea of scientific validation had been dominant in the congressional proceedings, and Jung had himself used illustrations for his lectures on the collective unconscious in the past. But Jung’s presentation of these images as evidence of the unconscious stunned Swami Pavitrananda. He was taken aback, because he did not know that the unconscious could be based on concrete evidence. The concept of the unconscious was something metaphysical and abstract in the Indian Vedanta parlance. Jung explained how in analytical work this was not so, whereupon the skeptical monk began to harp on the unpleasant fixation Western psychologists had with sex theories. He felt Jung’s stance regarding man’s innate spiritual desires was a welcome change in such a scenario.

Jung conceded that a general deterioration of the religious attitude in man in the West was noticeable and said that he had been a lone crusader in this field and had faced a lot of flak as a consequence. Thereafter, the conversation veered toward ideals, and Jung was quick to remark to the monk that a life lived in realizing the Self was more valuable than one that is spent on preaching ideals. Jung’s dislike of moral advocacy was apparent, although this stance of Jung’s would have dissatisfied the monk immensely.[74] Jung said, “ I believe, if a single man realizes his Self, he will do more work for the world than the so-called workers trying to do good to the world.”[75] Swami Pavitrananda would not leave without making a request of Jung; he

asked Jung if he would kindly write of his experiences of India for *Prabuddha Bharata*. Jung's polite acquiescence satisfied the monk, but Jung never wrote about his Indian journey for the journal. It seems clear from this report that Jung had voiced his differences with the Vedanta Order and conveyed some of his psychological beliefs to the monk. It was clear to him that the Indian spiritual and metaphysical attitude was anchored very differently from his empirical and psychological notions. In stating his views to the monk, Jung had finally taken a stance about India vis-à-vis his psychology and extricated himself from the exalted notions of the East that he had held in his mind.

Conversations Under the Table

On January 11, Jung finished his last official commitment in Calcutta. He had told Swami Pavitrananda, when he had met him on the evening of January 12, that he was planning to leave Calcutta in two days. With the conclusion of the Silver Jubilee Congress, Jung now had time to firm up his plans for the remainder of his journey and catch up with his friends. Waiting for him to recover and looking forward to spending time with him were Boshi and Gertrude Sen. Jung met up with them over dinner at his hotel after he returned from the hospital. He was obliged to invite another couple along with the Sens because he had many social obligations to fulfill before his departure. Gertrude's reminiscence of that dinner during the last part of Jung's stay in the city gives us memorable impressions of Jung's last days in Calcutta.[76]

According to Gertrude, Jung was staying at the Great Eastern Hotel in central Calcutta.[77] The Great Eastern, like the Grand Hotel, was another colonial landmark popular with foreign tourists, a luxury establishment managed by Indian directors and reserved mostly for expats and the traveling elite.



Figure 5.7: The Great Eastern Hotel in Calcutta where Jung stayed after his return from the Presidency General Hospital.

When the Sens came to meet Jung in his room at the Great Eastern, a note was delivered from an American couple also staying at the hotel. They were known to Jung, as the wife had been a patient of Jung's; her husband was a geologist from Yale.[78] When the group met over dinner, according to Gertrude, the American professor began to talk about the invitation he had received from the British government to study the conditions of Indian monuments, saying that he had been provided with a special compartment for all his travels. He claimed that his wife, who was an expert on textiles, had been gifted an invaluable book by a maharaja. Gertrude interjected to ask if the couple had visited Dacca, renowned for the finest textiles in the world. She enlightened the group about how the British traded in Indian textiles and said that since the British wished to monopolize the industry, they would not allow textile weaving in the East. According to East India Company records, Gertrude said, the British had ordered that the hands of the expert weavers in Dacca be cut off and their looms destroyed. This information agitated the American, and he vehemently declared that "all wars were economic." Boshi countered this by saying that wars were of all kinds—some wars were religious, some territorial, and there was even a war for Helen of Troy's beautiful eyes! The American professor responded that one could not argue about abstract ideas, to which Boshi replied that the only way to argue was to argue about ideas. The American professor then changed the subject and

began recounting to the group how he had once taught an eagle to fly. At this point his wife declared that she had a headache, and so the couple had to leave the table.

Jung's reaction to the incident was curious. He told the Sens that he had been listening to *the conversation going on under the table*. "I have often noticed that when among a group of persons there is a sudden moment of dead silence or a note of annoyance or anger crops up at a social gathering, somebody has said the wrong thing."[79] While both Boshi and Gertrude thought that either of them must have said something inappropriate to evoke such a reaction from the American, Jung said that the gentleman had been boastful because he wanted to show Jung his own importance (his wife had gone to Jung for treatment for years). His irrational talk became unbearable for his wife, who soon "got a headache" and left. Gertrude received a valuable lesson that evening: ever since then, she told her biographer, she had listened to conversations under the table and had found them far more interesting than those above the table.

My Name, Fowler McCormick, and Chicago

It was time for Jung to leave Calcutta, and Alfred Würfel, who had accompanied him from Benares and met him in Calcutta, came to bid him goodbye. Würfel found that although Jung could not withstand the crowded temple lanes of Benares, his regard for India had not weakened in any way. While in Calcutta, Jung remarked to Würfel that "while India has explored the landscapes of the soul, we in the West have explored that of the world around us."[80]

Alfred Würfel (1911–2011) was of German descent, born in a poor working-class family in Dresden, Germany.[81] The war years and a difficult childhood had made young Alfred determined to pursue an education. Indian arts and culture, a high point in Germany in the early decades of 1900s, gave Alfred his first taste of the East. He decided to head eastward after he completed his university education in Dresden. Circumstances brought him in touch with Uday Shankar and Alice Boner in Europe, and Würfel made his first voyage to India in 1935. In Benares, he enrolled in Sanskrit studies while continuing his explorations in the arts. The Second World War years were especially difficult for him because the British suspected him of being a Nazi

sympathizer and incarcerated him in an Indian internment camp.[82] As he bade Jung goodbye for the last time in Calcutta in January 1938, Jung asked Würfel what he should see as he headed south. Würfel suggested that he visit Puri, Bhubaneshwar, and Tanjore, the ashram of Ramana Maharshi, and the Kathakali dance and theater center of run by the poet Vallathol near Trichur in Kerala. Jung then introduced Würfel to Fowler McCormick. On being asked by Würfel for his name and full address, Fowler said, "My name and Chicago." When an astonished Würfel responded that Chicago was a very large city, Fowler laughingly said, "My name is enough!"[83]

Jung and Fowler did visit Vallathol's Kathakali dance center, and a few weeks later Würfel received a letter from McCormick, written onboard the *S.S. Corfu*, describing the sensational experience both of them had there. It was Würfel's friend Alice Boner who had first come upon Vallathol's school while studying ancient dance forms. Würfel had spent several months in the commune in Kerala since his arrival in India. He knew that the center was in dire need of funds and so, on an impulse, wrote to Fowler, asking him to help Vallathol's school. Soon Vallathol informed Würfel that Fowler McCormick had sent him three thousand dollars. When Würfel wrote to McCormick thanking him for this generous donation, the latter replied, this time giving his full address: Fowler McCormick, Chairman of the International Harvester Co., 1000 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago. It was then that Würfel realized that Fowler McCormick was the son of Edith McCormick and the grandson of John D. Rockefeller!

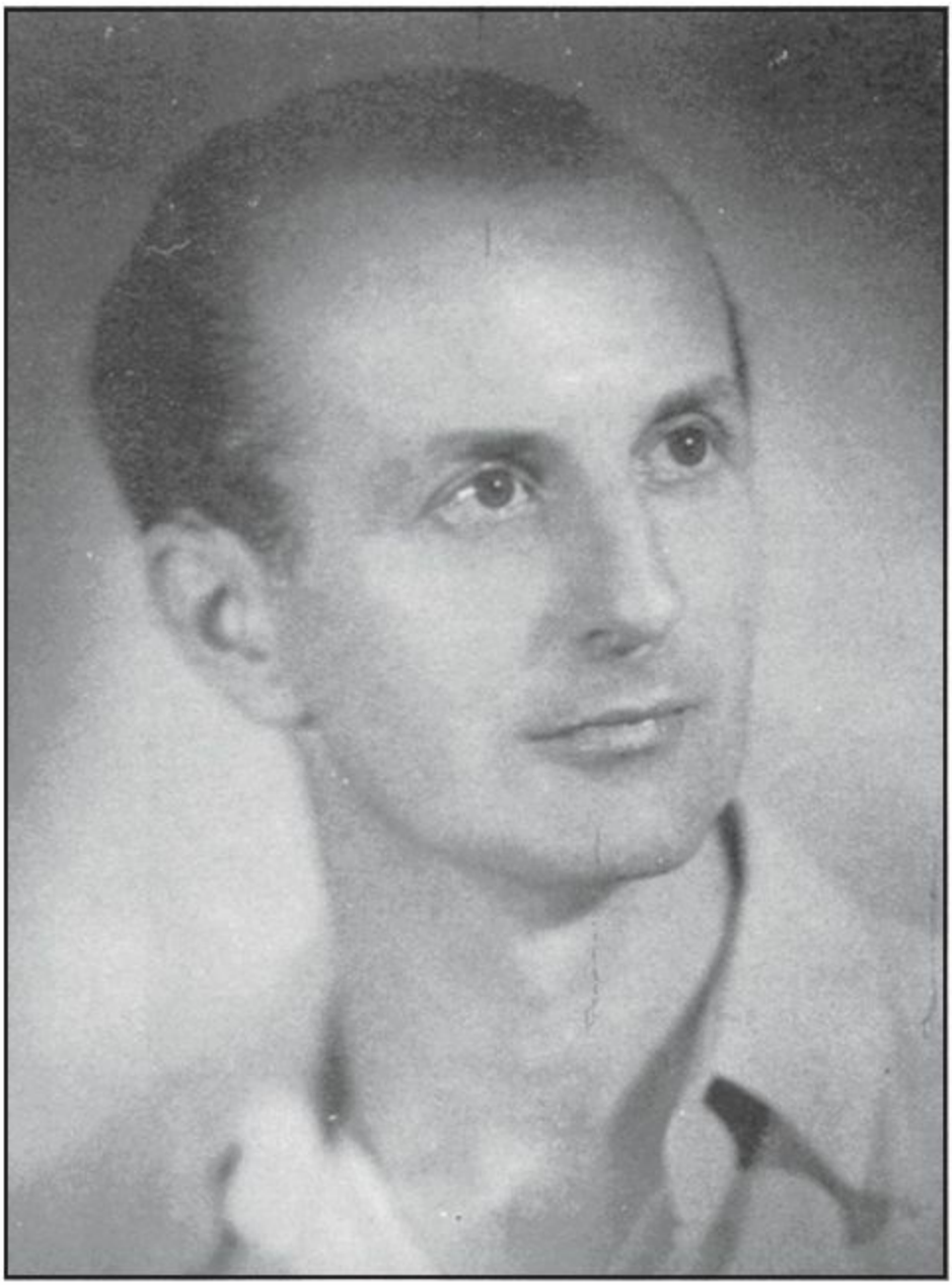


Figure 5.8: Alfred Würfel, a young German scholar at the Benares Hindu University, who met Jung in 1937 along with Alice Boner. Credit: Photograph courtesy *India: My Karma* by Alfred Würfel.

The "Outer" Aspects of My Life Should Be Accidental

Jung left Calcutta with mixed feelings. Although the city had conferred on him the highest academic honors, the stopover at Calcutta had evoked in

him an array of emotions—surprise, bewilderment, anger, uneasiness, and much else. He had not found the interest that he had hoped he would see in India about his work, although publicly he was bestowed with prestigious titles and honors. The irony of the situation did not escape Jung. He had received little goodwill from members of the Indian psychology fraternity, and he had himself vented his displeasure on Indra Sen. A potentially fatal illness had indisposed him severely, and the company of the British scientists had done little to lift his spirits. He was anxious that the feud between him and Freud could be blown out of proportion (hence his request to Indra Sen to keep the details of their interview private). On the whole, Jung's sojourn in Calcutta was strange and perplexing, but he steadfastly refrained from dwelling on these experiences in public.

At the time of his departure Jung may have wondered about the unusual chain of events that had unfolded in this historic city and changed his perceptions of India. The outer events, he said, were mostly accidental. He was concerned with their relation to his inner development. Freud's name had become entangled with his and had brought for him needless consternation. He had found that rumors of his political links with Germans, his relations with Freud, and his supposedly unscientific psychology had clouded his name in the scientific sessions in Calcutta.[84] These experiences were deeply consequential for Jung in the long run.

Years later, Jung related to E. A. Bennet that the charge made against him of indulging in poltergeist phenomena and occultism had been started by Freud himself.[85] At their very first meeting, Jung had been dissatisfied by Freud's fixation on sexuality. At that moment, filled with a sense of dissatisfaction over their meeting, he had heard a loud crash from a bookcase above Freud's head. Freud had dismissed it, but Jung knew from experience that such acausal events (the bookcase showed no visible breakage or sign of the crash) are normally exteriorized affects of the inner psychic situation. Jung had said then that the sound would recur. It did, and Freud took it from there that Jung had a penchant for the occult and that this was not a scientific attitude. Ironically, Freud's claim that Jung's attitude was unscientific was overthrown when Jung was commemorated with lifetime honors at the Silver Jubilee Science Congress in India. Although he had been excluded by Indian psychologists on grounds that his work was philosophical, he was commemorated at the Science Congress and at the universities for his scientific work. In ignoring him and his work, India seemed to have lost out

on an extraordinary opportunity to engage with an empirical scientist whose psychology is closely aligned with the spiritual and religious traditions of the East.

The Silver Jubilee Science Congress formally closed on January 9, 1938. The report in the *Sunday Statesman* sums up the farewell moments.

Putting the events of Calcutta behind him, Jung was now keen to pursue the remaining part of his travels separately as the scientific party had obligations to fulfill at various institutions and Jung had no such commitments. Also, the delegation was scheduled to leave India on January 15, while Jung had planned on extending his trip for another two weeks. It may have taken him some resolve to extend his journey, given the fragile state of his health and the odd turn of events at the congress but his steely demeanor belied any inner misgivings. It took him a long time, however, to make full sense of what had happened in Calcutta and to understand why he had undertaken the journey in the first place.[86] He told Miguel Serrano in 1959:

> Yes, India is an extraordinarily interesting country, and you should have that experience right, and you should have it intensely until the hour comes . . . I also wanted to confront that universe and, as a product of the Christian West, to use it to test my own ways, and to give life to those zones within me which correspond to those of the Hindus, but which in the West, for the most part, remain dormant. And that is why I went to India in 1938.[87]

SCIENTISTS BID FAREWELL TO CALCUTTA

Sir James Jeans and the British and foreign delegates to the Indian Science Congress are leaving Calcutta for Madras to-night. On the eve of his departure Sir James had issued the following message.

"At the moment of leaving Calcutta, the visiting scientific delegation tendered their most sincere thanks to all the kind hosts who have helped to make their stay in Calcutta so enjoyable.

The scientific Congress which we have been privileged to attend has impressed us all with its extraordinary vitality, with the widespread and generous attention accorded to our own contributions, and with the keen public interest which the transactions of the meeting have aroused; the huge audiences at the public lectures have been specially gratifying. I must reiterate our appreciation of the compliment paid by the Indian Science Congress Association to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in inviting its co-operation in the arrangement of the delegation; that invitation has forged a powerful new bond between Indian and British science, to the great advantage of both, and we all hope that the effects of that bond may prove wider even than the bonds of science."

Source: *The Sunday Statesman*, January 9, 1938, 12.

NOTES

[1] Upendranath Brahmachari was a scientist and medical practitioner who was knighted by the British Empire in 1934. A past president of the Indian Science Congress, he was a leading figure at the Silver Jubilee Congress of 1938.

[2] *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, 1938, Silver Jubilee Session* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939), 21.

[3] The Jung Family Archive has one photograph of Jung with Fowler McCormick at the Ramakrishna Ashram in Belur. Another photograph taken at Boshi Sen's residence on Bosepara Lane could not be located. Jung speaks of both photographs in his letter to Boshi Sen, written in February 1938. See *Letters, Vol. 1: 1906–1950*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 241. The photograph of Jung and Fowler is inscribed, "Kali-Heiligtum [sanctuary] u. Ashram des Ramakrishna/Calcutta 1937/8," and is evidence of Jung's visit to the Ramakrishna Ashram at Belur Math in 1938.

[4] The Dartington Hall Trust Archive contains "extensive correspondence between Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst, Tantine MacLeod, and others, with Dr. Boshi Sen, plant physiologist, and founder of the Vivekananda Laboratory in Calcutta, and later in Almora, India. Letters occasionally describe Sen's visits to Carl Jung in Geneva; some letters are written by Gertrude Emerson Sen." See http://dartington.org/archive/ and search for "Carl Jung."

[5]Almora, located in the foothills of the Himalayas, was a sought-after cultural and spiritual destination in the 1930s. The Ramakrishna Mission Advaita Ashram, Uday Shankar's cultural center, and Boshi's residence and laboratory were all located there. Tagore also visited Almora during the thirties. Basiswar "Boshi" Sen is listed as an ordinary member of the Indian Science Congress in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*.

[6] C. G. Jung, "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation" (1948), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 562.

[7] C. G. Jung, "Psychological Commentary on *The Tibetan Book of the*

Great Liberation" (1954), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 485.

[8] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 498–499.

[9] C. G. Jung, "Yoga and the West" (1936), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 532.

[10] C. G. Jung, *C. G. Jung Speaking: Interviews and Encounters* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 392. See also appendix B, "Archival Extracts—Personal Memoirs." Jung was probably referring to Surendranath Dasgupta, Subramanya Iyer, and others.

[11] C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2: 1951–1961*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 304.

[12] See the Fowler McCormick interview in the C. G. Jung Biographical Archive, Center for the History of Medicine, Francis A. Countway Library, Boston, pp. 25–26.

[13] Barbara Hannah writes: "Jung always hated not being able to meet obligations he had undertaken. Therefore, he was, on the one hand, very embarrassed not to be able to attend all the celebrations for which he had been invited to India. On the other hand, however, it was force majeure and in no way his own fault." Barbara Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), p. 243.

[14] The history and background of Calcutta have been taken from Sukanta Chaudhuri, ed., *Calcutta—The Living City*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[15] "The cleavage in Calcutta's urban fabric into a European and an Indian town was a physical manifestation of two processes, sometimes contradictory to each other . . . The Indian or Black Town, on the other hand, reflected in its physical set-up those principles which distinguished its communities from the European ones." Chaudhuri, *Calcutta—The Living City*, vol. 1, p. 33.

[16] "Where Delegates Are Putting Up," *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 2, 1938, p. 7.

[17] Barbara Hannah writes, "He said that he returned to the hotel 'in tolerably good health,' but Fowler McCormick recalled that he still looked very ill and that his condition gave Fowler cause for anxiety, both then and

during their whole journey together in southern India to Ceylon." See Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*, p. 250.

[18] P. Thankappan Nair, "Civic and Public Services in Old Calcutta," in *Calcutta—The Living City*, edited by Sukanta Chaudhuri (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), vol. 1, p. 228.

[19] Fowler McCormick said that by the time they arrived in Calcutta, Jung had become more and more annoyed with the hordes of people, particularly students, who knew only Freud. See Deirdre Bair, *Jung: A Biography* (Boston: Little Brown, 2003), p. 428.

[20] Psychology was the youngest of sciences, and in many academic institutions in India it was still a nascent discipline, linked to philosophy. Many members of the Annual Psychology Session of the 1938 Congress came from combined backgrounds of psychology and philosophy. For example, Jamuna Prosad was professor of psychology and philosophy at Patna College; so was Professor Indra Sen. In most Indian universities at that time, there was no separate psychology department.

[21] Both Myers and Spearman were members of the British Psychological Society. That they had relations with the ruling government can be seen from the Home Department Records in the National Archives of India for the years 1937–38. Records show correspondence between the viceroy of India and the governor of Bengal about the application of psychology to the treatment of crime in Indian industry. Similarly, Ronald Fisher, another scientific luminary, was hosted by P. C. Mahalanobis in Calcutta during the congressional celebrations; Fisher was closely connected with the work of the Indian Statistical Institute, whose founder was Mahalanobis. M. V. Gopalswami had obtained his PhD under Spearman at the University of London and had founded the Department of Psychology in Mysore in 1924, which Spearman visited during the congressional tour of south India. There were numerous other Indian members of the congress who had close links with the British scientific intelligentsia and who utilized the congressional meeting for strengthening mutual academic and institutional interests.

[22] Barbara Hannah writes, "I was delighted that England had once more found favor in his sight, for the only time he ever really sharply criticized the English was after his return from India, when he spoke more than once of how unnatural and stiff the Englishman was in India and how little he had adapted to his environment. It was not the government he criticized but the

lack of adaptation and naturalness in the individual Englishman." Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*, p. 257.

[23] C. G. Jung, "The Dreamlike World of India" (1939), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 522.

[24] The annual psychology session of the congress was held on January 7, 1938, on the university premises, followed by a luncheon at the University College of Science. The annual meeting of the Indian Psychological Association was also held on January 7, 1938. On my visit to the University College of Science and the department of psychology in 2011, no one from the department had any information about Jung's visit to the university during the Silver Jubilee Congress. Current faculty members had heard about Myers's and Spearman's interactions at the department. The response was similar when I visited G. Bose's erstwhile residence-cum-clinic at Parsibagan Lane. The current officeholders of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society did not have any information about Jung's visit in 1938. Bose's well-endowed personal library had Jung's *Collected Works* displayed, but no information about Jung at the Silver Jubilee Congress.

[25]Jung called it a ten-day spell in the hospital in his autobiography; see C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, edited by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p. 280. But his notes from his private journal say that the period of his stay at Presidency General Hospital was from January 3 to 8. The degree *honoris causa* papers show that Jung received the degrees in absentia in Calcutta.

[26] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 280.

[27] *Ibid*., pp. 282–283.

[28] "I believed I understood his situation, since I myself had the same problem as he and knew what it meant to be involved with this conflict." *Ibid*., p. 377.

[29] This paper, titled "Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology," written by S. C. Mitra, was presented at the psychology session on January 7, 1938. It was read and commented upon by Freud and Anna Freud in October 1937, just months before the congress; see *The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in India* (Calcutta: Indian Psychoanalytical Society, 1964), pp. 27–28.

[30] Letter to Freud from G. Bose, in October 1932; *ibid*., p. 22.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 20.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 27.

[33] Ashis Nandy analyzes Bose's personality in *The Savage Freud* and says, "Second, as a pioneer in matters of the mind and as an organizational innovator, Bose showed remarkable ideological tolerance . . . He used to say, an associate remembers, that psychoanalysis was a medical system like ayurveda or homeopathy; it worked with some people, while other systems worked better with others. Others mention that Bose never pushed psychoanalysis with his students of psychology and his own psychological theories with his analytic trainees or colleagues." See Ashis Nandy, *The Bonfire of Creeds: The Essential Ashis Nandy* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 359.

[34] The dominant impression is that Jung and Bose never met. This is unlikely, given that Jung attended several congressional gatherings after his illness, gave two lectures on the university premises not far from Bose's clinic and residence, and received his formal commemorations in absentia from the university where Bose was a prominent presence. It is more likely that they met briefly, but did not interact much.

[35] Nandy, *Bonfire of Creeds*, p. 376.

[36] The records of the events conducted are to be found in *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*.

[37] See the full report of the events by *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, "Section of Psychology: To-day's Meeting at Science College," in appendix A, "Archival Extracts—Jung's Public Engagements." Jung's journal notes make no mention of any interaction with members of the psychology fraternity.

[38]The influence of the West on Indian psychology was considerable. Under Ashutosh Mukherjee's direction, N. N. Sengupta, one of the earliest Indian psychologists, had trained at Harvard in experimental psychology. S. C. Mitra had trained in Leipzig in Germany, and Gopalswami had worked under Charles Spearman. Then there was Owen Berkeley-Hill, C. D. Daly, and others who were followers of Freud. The Department of Psychology was decorated with images of Gustav Theodor Fechner, Rudolf Hermann Lotze, Wilhelm Wundt, and Sigmund Freud, showing clearly how Indian psychology was influenced by Western ideals from early on. See Christiane Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 93–95.

[39] Berkeley-Hill's name is seen in the list of ordinary members in the Science Congress official report. He is also listed as a participant of the psychology sessions of the congress. Freud had earlier written to Bose that he knew Berkeley-Hill from among Bose's Indian counterparts. See letter dated December 13, 1931, "Bose-Freud Correspondence," p. 21.

[40] Nandy describes Berkeley-Hill as "the first Westerner to attempt a psychoanalytic study of the Hindu modal personality and the first Westerner to use psychoanalysis as a form of cultural critique in India." Nandy, *Bonfire of Creeds*, p. 352.

[41] For descriptions of Berkeley-Hill's and G. Bose's lives and work, see Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India*, pp. 93–95.

[42] The Freud-Jung-Jones dynamic has been commented upon in numerous essays and biographies. A later version of Jung's ideas in relation to Freud's theories has been presented by John Beebe, Joseph Cambray, and Thomas B. Kirsch, "What Freudians Can Learn from Jung," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 18 (2001): 213–242. The essay reflects on the long history of the Jung-Freud relations. It also clarifies Jung's approach to dream analysis, his scientific work, and his explorations in mythology, religion, and alchemy. Brief correspondence between Jung and Ernest Jones can be found in C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*. Jung's views on Ernest Jones can be found in E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the Years 1946–1961* (Zürich: Daimon, 1985).

[43] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year), Cambridge, August 17–24* (London: Office of the British Association, Burlington House, 1938).

[44] The *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, of which Bose became a coeditor, regularly reported the developments in India from the Indian Psychoanalytical Society.

[45] Jones, in his closing remark in the discussion following "Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology," said: "In this achievement there is, in my opinion, one man's name that will forever be pre-eminent, and that is the name of Freud, now so condemned, but in the future to be honoured above all his contemporaries." "XVIII. Section of Psychology," *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 67.

[46] *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, pp. 63–67. If Jones was not present himself and had merely forwarded his speech from

abroad to be read out at the session, this would have been mentioned in the report.

[47] Suhrit Chandra Mitra was a lecturer in the psychology department at the University College of Science.

[48] *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 62.

[49] That Indian psychologists may have considered Jung's ideas to be outside the scope of the scientific parameters of psychoanalysis does not correspond with the fact that Jung was conferred an honorary Silver Jubilee Session life membership by the Indian Science Congress Association in the same congress in recognition of his scientific work. See *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 47.

[50] *Ibid*., p. 68.

[51]According to Hartnack, Bose did not seem to have a very smooth relationship with S. C. Mitra at the university during that time. See Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India*, p. 99.

[52] Professors Jamuna Prosad and Indra Sen, both participants of the psychology section of the 1938 congress, taught philosophy and psychology at their respective institutions. Sen had a background in science and law and was trained as a laboratory psychologist. The Department of Experimental Psychology at the University of Calcutta was expressly housed in the University College of Science and not in the arts building. The Indian Science Congress Association had conferred a scientific status on psychology. The members of the congressional session came from medical and scientific backgrounds like Bose, and also from the fields of philosophy and psychology, but the inclination was more toward the sciences.

[53] In a 1937 essay in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Bose cites examples from the ancient treatise of *Kamasutra*, written by Vatsayana. This essay succinctly sums up Bose's psychoanalytic position, a blend of Western psychology and ancient Indian knowledge systems. He used the terms *psycho-neurotic*, *psychotic, chronic paranoiac,* and *anxiety neurosis* in the essay alongside Sanskrit expressions such as *urdhareta* and *abhimaniki*. See G. Bose, "The Duration of Coitus," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 18 (1937): 235–255.

[54] A question mark is placed next to Lord Linlithgow's name in Jung's private journal. Possibly Jung was not clear if this was Lord Linlithgow himself.

[55] All the commemorative degrees are preserved in the Jung Family Archives. A copy of one of the degrees is shown in figure 3.2, p. 80.

[56] "Visitors Honoured by University, Special Convocation at Government House," *The Statesman*, January 8, 1938, p. 17.

[57] See the full reports in appendix A, "Archival Extracts." *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* was an English-language daily newspaper published in Calcutta. The paper is now discontinued. In the colonial era, it was known for its anti-imperialist stance. It is intriguing to note that none of the pro-establishment papers, like *The Statesman* or the *Times of India* carried news of Jung's lectures.

[58] See P. C. Bagchi, ed., *The Second City of the Empire* (Calcutta: The Local Secretaries, University College of Science, 1938), p. 115. This article also states that by an act of 1875, the university was empowered to confer the degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Law "upon any person on the ground of his eminent position and attainments, without requiring him to undergo any examination; and the first degree of D.L. was conferred, *honoris causa*, on His late Majesty the King Emperor VII, at a special convocation held on 3 January, 1875, on the occasion of his visit to India" (*ibid*.).

[59] "What's Collective Unconscious? Empirical Matter—Prof. Jung's Definition of the Concept," *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 10, 1938, p. 8.

[60] See appendix A for Jung's lecture in Calcutta and compare it with "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious" (1936/7), in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, vol. 9i, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), pars. 87–110.

[61] The presenters were Dr. S. N. Roy and Prof. J. C. Bannerji. See the extract of the report in appendix A.

[62]The early history of Ashutosh College shows humanities as the core subjects taught. See the history of Ashutosh College at www.asutoshcollege.in.

[63] C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, vol. 6, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), pars. 189–191.

[64] Indra Sen's presence in the psychology session is known from the report of the science congress, "XVIII. Section of Psychology," *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 74.

[65] Indra Sen's life and work have been described by his daughter, Dr. Aster Patel, in *The Presence of Dr. Indra Senji* (Pondicherry: SABDA, Sri

Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 2003).

[66] Aster Patel writes: “When the great psychologist, C. G. Jung, came to Calcutta in December 1938, on the occasion of the Indian Science Congress, he met him and had a long interview with him—which remains unpublished on the express wish of the latter. A record of it exists as a handwritten note among Indra Senji’s papers.” Patel, *The Presence of Dr. Indra Senji*, p. 10.

[67] Indra Sen, “Jung’s Relevance to India,” *Sri Aurobindo’s Action*, November 1986, p. 14.

[68] Aniela Jaffe, *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung* (Zürich: Daimon Verlag, 1989), p. 117.

[69] Christiane Hartnack writes about how Freud was bored with Indian visitors such as Rabindranath Tagore and Surendranath Dasgupta and never really understood the Indian multipantheon culture and religion. Hartnack, “Freud on Garuda’s Wings: Psychoanalysis in Colonial India,” *IIAS Newsletter*, March 30, 2003, p. 10. See also the International Institute for Asian Studies website: http://www.iias.nl.

[70] Jung’s formal deliberations on Freud can be read in various essays in the *Collected Works*. His informal views on Freud can be found in Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*.

[71] Integral psychology is a branch of psychology founded by Indra Sen in the 1940s, combining the elements of Sri Aurobindo’s teachings and the principles of Western psychology, particularly analytical psychology.

[72] “East and West Meet, Scientists Foregather, Speeches at Dinner,” *The Statesman*, January 9, 1938, p. 12.

[73] Swami Pavitrananda, “An Evening with Prof. C. G. Jung,” *Prabuddha Bharata*, March 1938.

[74] The Vedanta philosophy was opposed to materialistic science. See “Scientific Renaissance in India,” *Prabuddha Bharata*, March 1938, p. 111. At the same time, Jung’s view of the unconscious as an empirical concept was incomprehensible to the Vedanta scholars. The Ramakrishna Order was more comfortable with expressions such as spiritual yearning and spiritual instruction. Their evangelism was of no interest to Jung, who was a steadfast critic of Eastern evangelical activities in the West. Jung’s differences with Boshi Sen and others of the Ramakrishna Order should be considered in light of this background.

[75] Pavitrananda, “An Evening with Prof. C. G. Jung,” p. 180.

[76] Girish N. Mehra, "*Nearer Heaven than Earth": The Life and Times of Boshi Sen and Gertrude Emerson Sen* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2007), pp. 399–406.

[77] According to congressional reports, Jung first stayed at the Grand Hotel. It is not known for certain if he moved to the Great Eastern later, after his return from the hospital. For an article about the Great Eastern Hotel, see Suhrid Sankar Chattopadhyay, "Hotel with a History," *Frontline,* vol. 22, no. 17 (August 13–26, 2005); accessed February 10, 2013, at http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2217/stories/20050826001608400.htm.

[78] Among the foreign delegates, the Science Congress records list a certain F. K. Morris, Professor of Structural Geology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Morris. However, the man whom Jung met and Gertrude mentions was a geologist from Yale. See *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Indian Science Congress*, p. 44.

[79] Mehra, "*Nearer Heaven than Earth*," p. 405.

[80] Alfred Würfel, *India, My Karma: Alfred Würfel Remembers* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2004), p. 116.

[81] Würfel passed away in New Delhi, India, at the ripe old age of one hundred, while this book was still being written.

[82] The Home Department records in the National Archives in New Delhi and the State Archives in Kerala show that the British government kept a watch over Würfel's movements (along with many others who were suspected to be anti-British). In fact, Jung was not spared such scrutiny either. While in India, Jung learned that a fake photograph with his name had been sent to scientific societies years ago from Vienna. On this photo, Jung was represented as a Jew of the most vicious kind. See his letter to Henry A. Murray, October 1938; Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, p. 34.

[83] Würfel, *India, My Karma*, p. 116.

[84] See Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, pp. 34–35.

[85] Bennet, *Meetings with Jung*, p. 110.

[86] Jung wrote to Boshi Sen in February 1938 that he did not feel equal to the task of writing something about India. He was too much in it. See Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 242. The essays that Jung finally submitted to Gertrude Sen for *Asia* magazine were published in 1939 and are found in volume 10 of the *Collected Works*.

[87] Miguel Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse: A Record of Two*

Friendships (Zürich: Daimon, 1966), p. 66.

CHAPTER 6

JUNG IN KONARAK, MADRAS, MYSORE, TRIVANDRUM, MADURA, AND CEYLON

> In India there is no psychology in our sense of the word. India is "pre-psychological": when it speaks of the "self," it posits such a thing as existing. Psychology does not do this. It does not in any sense deny the existence of the dramatic conflict, but reserves the right to the poverty, or the riches, of not knowing about the self.
>
> —Carl Jung, "The Holy Men of India"

The East-West Dialectic

As Jung headed southward, his itinerary became increasingly tailored around his own interests. Official records of his activities dwindle in number after his departure from Calcutta, so private records, newspaper reports, and Jung's own journal entries become the key sources of information about his southern tour. In contrast to the ceremonial and public character of the journey in the first half of his trip, the southern expedition was intimate and low-key. As he retreated from the colonial environs of Calcutta, he devised, with Fowler McCormick, the stopovers for his southern tour and embarked on an exploration of what was at the core of the Indian ethos; this search illuminated Jung's own psychological conceptions. He saw distinctly what was lacking in the Western attitude and also what were intrinsically the strengths of Western psychology in comparison with the East. The southern tour was revelatory for Jung and, in many ways, the

kernel of his Indian intermezzo.[1] It was devised as a series of road trips, overnight train journeys, and even a ferry ride off the Indian coast. The spontaneous and informal nature of the itinerary obscured Jung's exact whereabouts (he traveled almost incognito), but it ensured that the journey was as exciting and adventurous as he wished it to be.

Jung felt less restrained by the trappings of officialdom once he was in the south. Away from the vagaries of Indo-British relations and the unwelcome developments at the congress, he was now free to dwell on subjects that were close to his heart. As he headed toward Orissa, his attention moved from the outer, perfunctory world of the congressional affairs to an inner realm. One of the subjects that continued to occupy Jung's mind was the notion of evil and its espousal in Indian spiritual thought. The apparent lack of identification with either good or evil in the Indian spiritual attitude or a desire to be liberated from its conflict (*nirdvandva*) could lead to a kind of moral stasis, Jung felt.[2] He found that the desire to be freed from either good or evil (as opposed to the Christian dogma of advocating good over evil) resulted in a kind of inertia or apathy in the Hindu mind. Of the many differences that he encountered in India with the Hindus from the position of a Western psychologist, the concept of good and evil was critical. Jung's own appraisal of this was different.

> If we wish to come to an understanding about so complex a question as good and evil, we must start with the following proposition: good and evil are in themselves principles, and we must bear in mind that a principle exists long before us and extends far beyond us.[3]

Jung's view was that an engagement with all aspects of good and evil and with life as such, not detachment from it, was the route to liberation.[4] In affirming this, Jung did not dismiss the Indian metaphysical approach but emphasized that for the psyche a full participation in worldly experiences and whatever good and evil were contained in them was more desirable than a dissociation or a deliverance from them. Hence, liberation from conflict or *nirdvandva* was not, according to Jung, the spiritual or psychological goal for a Westerner. Jung differentiated the Western therapeutic approach from the Indian philosophical attitude:

> As a therapist I cannot, in any given case, deal with the problem of good and evil philosophically but can only approach it empirically . . . I see very clearly: this is evil, but the paradox is just that for this particular person in this particular situation at this particular stage of development it may be good. Contrariwise, good at the wrong moment in the wrong place

may be the worst thing possible.[5]

He noted, on the other hand, that the observance of opposites gave the Easterner an ability to contemplate the world of reality and illusion together, giving him an awareness of Atman.[6] This awareness of the whole, of the world *behind* and *in* the opposites, in which the universal Atman is embedded, is the cornerstone of Eastern spirituality. Jung found that the Eastern approach blended with his psychological goals, especially the conception of the self. "What is meant by the self is not only in me but in all beings, like the Atman, like Tao. It is psychic totality."[7]

Traveling through the subcontinent, Jung's thoughts crystallized spontaneously, but they were also the outcome of the years he had spent studying Indian texts in Zürich. The more he encountered the real India, the firmer his psychological convictions became, for the stark contrasts and sometimes the startling similarities between his own attitude and India's strengthened his appraisal of both West and East. The underlying dialectic that he encountered in the process was critical in shaping his views, for he found that neither the West nor the East had overcome the one-sidedness in their psyches while pursuing their individual ideals.[8]

> In the West, there is the mania for "objectivity," the asceticism of the scientist or of the stockbroker, who throw away the beauty and universality of life for the sake of the ideal, or not so ideal, goal. In the East, there is the wisdom, peace, detachment, and inertia of a psyche that has returned to its dim origins, having left behind all the sorrow and joy of existence as it is and, presumably, ought to be. No wonder that one-sidedness produces very similar forms of monasticism in both cases, guaranteeing to the hermit, the holy man, the monk or the scientist unswerving singleness of purpose . . . The extraverted tendency of the West and the introverted tendency of the East have one important purpose in common: both make desperate efforts to conquer the mere naturalness of life.[9]

Tremendous Dark Block of Stone Floating in Space

Jung left Calcutta with Fowler McCormick on January 13 to travel to Orissa and explore the heart of southern India. According to his private journal, he was in Puri from January 13 to 15, spending two days in Bhubaneshwar and visiting the Jagannath and Konarak temples on the eastern coast. Jung may have been briefed about the temples by Alfred Würfel or Alice Boner, but it is also likely that he was familiar with these names from studying the symbolic motifs of Indian art and architecture in Zürich and

deliberating on India regularly with his circle of friends in Europe.[10]

It is not clear how Jung organized these excursions into the interiors of Orissa and whether Fowler or anyone else played a role in the logistics.[11] The scientific delegation had left Calcutta on the night of January 9 for Madras, where they were accorded an official reception and hosted by Madras University, following which the overseas delegates traveled to Bangalore and Mysore.[12] But Jung had deviated from this official itinerary and devised his own tour. The railway network was fairly well established in the colonial era (the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was testimony to this), and Jung most likely reached Orissa by train and conducted his outings to the interiors by car. At that time, the nearest train station to Puri was in Cuttack, so it is likely that he traveled from Calcutta by train to Cuttack and then to Bhubaneshwar and Konarak by road.

The condition of his health notwithstanding, Jung seemed determined to explore the prehistoric monuments that were inaccessible to ordinary travelers then. Speaking of the challenges that the noted Swiss photographer Raymond Burnier encountered while touring the interiors of India in 1935, Alain Daniélou writes how isolated these sites were back then, and how exotic their sculptural beauty.

> During the winter of 1934–35, we spent a holiday near the sea in Puri, in the province of Orissa. We saw some marvellous carved-wood chariots in which the images of the gods are driven about, and also visited the Sun temple of Konarak. In those days, it was a difficult expedition. We had to rent elephants from the Rajah of Puri so that we could go across the estuaries of the rivers along the coast. Konarak, which the British call the "Black Pagoda," is a huge abandoned temple on a sandy peninsula. Very few foreign visitors had ever seen this temple whose erotic sculptures seemed just another example of Hindu barbarity . . . The high tower of the temple had collapsed. The nave, or *mandapa*, was built in the shape of a chariot and decorated with a profusion of sculptures in a style quite different from that of the other temples of India. Raymond took a great many pictures of the sculptures; it was his first attempt at photography, a craft that later earned him an important reputation.[13]

To Jung, the "barbaric" sculptures of Konarak were a source of great illumination and psychological insight.

> India's civilization and psychology resemble her temples, which represent the universe in their sculptures, including man and all his aspects and activities, whether as a saint or brute . . . India represents the other way of civilizing man, the way without suppression, without violence, without rationalism. You see them there, side by side, in the same town, in the same street, in the same temple, within the same square mile: the most highly cultivated mind and the primitive. In the mental make-up of the most spiritual you discern the traits of the living primitive, and in the melancholy eyes of the illiterate half-naked villager you divine an

unconscious knowledge of mysterious truths.[14]

Jung has dwelt on the psychological makeup of the *primitive* in several works; he viewed the wisdom of the primitive man with absolute regard and appreciation.[15] He was perhaps aware of the significance of Orissa's temples through his readings of James Fergusson or Arthur Avalon's writings. Whatever the source of his knowledge, the zeal for exploring the religious and artistic treasures of the East was not peculiar to Jung alone. The oriental wave had thrown up an extraordinary band of Western scholars in the cultural landscape of India in the 1930s. Sir John Woodroffe, Alice Boner, Stella Kramrisch, Raymond Burnier, and many others spent significant years of their lives in India in the early 1900s, pioneering an avant-garde consciousness on Indian art and culture; Jung followed this trail, but his understanding of the East was different from that of others of his era.

As a European, Jung would not have gained access to the inner sanctum of the Jagannath Temple (the deity of the sun god was not in Konarak), but what mesmerized him altogether about these twelfth-century structures were the carvings on the outer panels and at the entrances. Daniélou called these images "just another example of Hindu barbarity," but for Jung they were a revelation of how eroticism had been assimilated in Hindu spirituality from time immemorial. Jung understood that the explicit forms carved on the temple gateways and walls depicting amorous love were not considered sacrilegious or ignoble in Hindu religious tradition but that they had a definite role and purpose in the Hindu religious scheme. Assimilating them was recommended by pandits as a necessary function of life, before one embarked on the higher plane of spiritualism.[16] This information was edifying for Jung, for in the West the moral shroud of propriety upheld by Christian ideals would scarcely permit such earthly transgressions.

Away from the tiring distractions of the Science Congress, the temples on the eastern coast of India became the core of Jung's ruminations on the East. Once before, at the site of the monastery in Sanchi, Jung had experienced a rare spiritual awakening in himself. In Orissa, he was enlightened about a new dimension of Hindu spirituality. This stark and scenic terrain emerged later in the visions during a critical illness in 1944:

> It seemed to me that I was high up in space. Far below I saw the globe of the earth, bathed in a gloriously blue light. I saw the deep blue sea and the continents. Far below my feet lay Ceylon, and in the distance ahead of me the subcontinent of India. . . .

> After contemplating it for a while, I turned around. I had been standing with my back to the Indian Ocean, as it were, and my face to the north. Then it seemed to me that I made a turn to the south. Something new entered my field of vision. A short distance away I saw in space a tremendous dark block of stone, like a meteorite. It was about the size of my house, or even bigger. It was floating in space, and I myself was floating in space.
>
> I had seen similar stones on the coast of the Gulf of Bengal. They were blocks of tawny granite, and some of them had been hollowed out into temples. My stone was one such gigantic dark block. An entrance led into a small antechamber. To the right of the entrance, a black Hindu sat silently in lotus posture upon a stone bench. He wore a white gown, and I knew that he expected me.[17]

Jung's feelings of "extreme poverty" and "great fullness" from this vision, which he encountered long after his return from India, seemed to denote a sense of fulfillment about all that he had accomplished in his life and work, so much so that he desired no more. Concurrently he also felt that everything was being stripped away from him, as he was moving up and away from the earth. This made him sad. Jung was at that point very ill, oscillating between life and death, but the vision may not have signified an actual fatality, but rather a termination of a significant phase of his life and beginning of another. From the height above, Jung saw that all his earthly experiences had become encapsulated into something essential and vital which remained with him. He also witnessed the floating black stone anchored on an eastern shoreline—a landscape that was familiar to him from the rock-cut temples that he had seen in Orissa. Here, a Hindu priest in Yogic posture awaited his arrival at the temple threshold. The entrance of the temple signified an initiation and the decidedly Eastern setting of the vision seemed to remind him of his long and deep association with the East and the inspiration that he had derived from it over many decades.

"Into the Great and Heavenly Mysteries"

After visiting Konarak, Jung left Orissa to travel to southern India. He reached Madras on January 18 after four days in Orissa and decided to spend two nights at Hotel Connemara in the heart of Madras (then known as the Madras Presidency). It was in Madras that Jung famously threw off his chance to meet Sri Ramana Maharshi, being entirely convinced by then that in India he had to take his lessons from his own experience and not from the borrowed ideas of revered masters.[18] Instead of visiting the holy men of India, Jung decided to see the ancient temples of Mahabalipuram and

Tirukalukundram in the famed district of Kanchipuram, eighty kilometers from the city of Madras. The Black Pagoda of Konarak had impressed him greatly ("took all the air off him"), but Jung was not done with temples yet.[19]

The Hotel Connemara was a magnificent imperial landmark in 1938. Its origins are linked to the early days of British rule in southern India. It was originally the Imperial Hotel on Mount Road and once belonged to the nawab of the Carnatic, Muhammad Ali Wallajah. The story has it that Nawab Wallajah encouraged British involvement in the political affairs of his state and often embroiled them in his territorial affairs.[20] The hotel later passed through several hands to reach members of the Mudaliar community, who had significant interests in real estate in south India. The name "Connemara" originated from Robert Bourke, the Irish peer Lord Connemara, the governor of Madras (1886–1890), who "contributed his share of good deeds to Madras." The first advertisement of the hotel published in the *Madras Mail* in 1890 described it as "a first class hotel on Mount Road with airy andcommodious rooms, excellent table, with ice and hot baths and a minute's walk to Madras Club."[21]



Figure 6.1: Hotel Connemara in Madras in 1937, where Jung stayed for two days after his Calcutta sojourn and from where he visited Tirukalukundram and Mahabalipuram.Credit: Photograph courtesy the Taj Connemara, Chennai, India, from its private publication of *A Tradition of Madras: The Taj Connemara*, by S. Muthiah.

Jung would have enjoyed these colonial luxuries as the hotel had been newly renovated in 1937, but his stopover at Madras was essentially to explore southern India and to travel to Mysore to meet Subramanya Iyer. He

may have received some visitors in Madras at the Connemara, but these visits would have been informal in nature, since no information has emerged that Jung had made formal appointments for meetings in Madras. During the day, Jung made a quick excursion to the nearby Kanchipuram district. He probably chose to visit one of the temples of Tirukalukundram because it was in an isolated vicinity near Madras, close to Mahabalipuram, where Jung



Figure 6.2: The spacious lobby of the newly refurbished Hotel Connemara in Madras, where Jung stayed with Fowler McCormick in 1937. The hotel was famous for its a la carte European cuisine, liveried waiter service, newest air-conditioning apparatus, stylish and comfortable furnishings, and other modern amenities. Credit: Photograph courtesy the Taj Connemara, Chennai, India.



Figure 6.3: One of the gates of Tirukalukundram, the temple in Kanchipuram district where Jung spent some time studying the *Dasavataram* and conferring with the attendant temple priest. Jung made reference of this temple in his work, *Aion*. Credit: Photograph courtesy the author.

could spend some quiet moments studying the temple architecture. From his private journal, we know that he carefully studied the carved pillars of the ten avatars of Vishnu of the temple that was situated below the hill.[22] He also viewed the outer edifices of this temple, and the gateways and pillars depicting the sculptures and figurines, similar to what he had seen in Orissa. The attendant priest explained to him the worldly paths that men should follow in order to access higher spiritual domains and how this was espoused in Hindu spirituality.

> Men should keep to this lower path in order to be initiated “into the great and heavenly”

> mysteries. For this mystery is “the gate of heaven” and the “house of God,” where alone the good God dwells, who is destined only for the spiritual men.[23]

Jung walked around the inner sanctum and examined the architecture of the panels bordering the sanctum. The twin temples of Tirukalukundram are dedicated to Vedagiriswarar (Shiva) and his consort Thirupurasundari (Parvati). As is characteristic of Hindu temples, they are associated with an episodic legend.[24] Jung referred to the discussions he had with the temple priest while writing the chapter “Gnostic Symbols of the Self ” in *Aion*:

> When I visited the ancient pagoda at Turukalukundram, southern India, a local pundit explained to me that the old temples were purposely covered on the outside, from top to bottom, with obscene sculptures, in order to remind ordinary people of their sexuality. The spirit, he said, was a great danger, because Yama, the god of death, would instantly carry off these people (the “imperfecti”) if they trod the spiritual path directly, without preparation. The erotic sculptures were meant to remind them of their *dharma* (law) which bids them fulfill their ordinary lives. Only when they have fulfilled their *dharma* can they tread the spiritual path. The obscenities were intended to arouse the erotic curiosity of the visitors to the temples, so they should not forget their *dharma*; otherwise they would not fulfil it. Only the man who was qualified by his karma (the fate earned through works in previous existences), and who was destined for the life of the spirit, could ignore this injunction with impunity. For him, these obscenities mean nothing. That was also why the two seductresses stood at the entrance of the temple, luring the people to fulfil their *dharma* because only in this way could the ordinary man attain to higher spiritual development. And since the temple represented the whole world all human activities were portrayed in it; and because most people are always thinking of sex anyway, the great majority of the temple sculptures were of an erotic nature. For this reason too, he said, the *lingam* (the phallus) stands in the sacred cavity of adyton (Holy of Holies), in the *garbha-griha* (house of the womb). This pundit was a Tantrist (scholastic; Tantra = “book”).[25]



Figure 6.4: Narasimha-avatar, one of the Dashavatars on a sculptured column in the temple of Tirukulakundram. The Dashavatars are the ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu of Hindu mythology. Jung made notes of the panels, depicting the ten incarnations during his visit to the temple. Credit: Photograph courtesy the author.

The seventh-century Pallava temples of Mahabalipuram, situated on the eastern coastline, were Jung's next stop. Famed for their rock-cut architecture, the seven pagodas that are carved as chariots and made of granite depict scenes from the *Mahabharata*. Decades ago, Keyserling had described these monolithic structures, their bas reliefs depicting exquisite scenes from the epic:

> And thus my pilgrimage through the sanctuaries of Southern India has come to the most ideal conclusion. On this bare and empty isle of sand, every rock, almost every stone, has been

> recreated as a work of art. Sometimes the vast bodies of elephants and bullocks have been chiselled out of great blocks, then again delicate Mandagrams. Monolithic temples crown the heights, and cover every hill, and when the sea rises, its waves roll over exquisite stairs and doorsteps and gradually rise to and break before the slumbering gods.[26]

The Maharaja's Summer Palace in Mysore and Subramanya Iyer

After these quick forays into the southern heartland, and a much-needed break at the Connemara, Jung and Fowler made a detour to Mysore to meet Subramanya Iyer.[27]

> 9th January 1957. Today C. G. received two little booklets entitled The Divine Law sent to him by their author, an Indian philosopher named B.(V) Subramanya Iyer, whom he first met twenty years ago at a philosophical congress in Paris. They were inscribed: With affectionate regards. 30.11.56 . . . Then when C. G. was in India, he was invited to Mysore State where this man was the guru to the ruler; he was treated very well, stayed in the ruler's guest-house, and was taken for drives in an ancient but comfortable motor car.[28]

Nalwadi Krishna Raja Wodeyar (1884–1940), maharaja of the princely state of Mysore, was not only a munificent ruler but a man of many interests and accomplishments. He had a keen desire to promote Indian culture and spirituality in the West and was also interested in strengthening scientific education in India.[29] The maharajah was a benefactor of the Ramakrishna Ashram in Mysore, where Subramanya Iyer taught. Iyer was the maharajah's spiritual mentor (*rajaguru*) and enjoyed royal support and patronage. Thus it was Iyer's enthusiasm that brought Jung to the princely grounds of Mysore, where according to his private journal, he was hosted at the maharajah's exquisite summer palace, Lokaranjan Mahal, and granted a special audience with the king.

The scientific delegates had been hosted by the maharaja before Jung's arrival, so Jung's itinerary in Mysore can be roughly gauged from the official itinerary that preceded his visit.

> The special train left Madras at night, and the next morning (January 12), the party changed at Bangalore into a narrow-gauge train for Mysore City. At Bangalore and Mysore, and for the intervening journey, they were the guests of the State of Mysore . . . The Maharaja's palace, the University, the Technical Institute, the Zoological Gardens, and various institutions were visited by members, and after nightfall they viewed with wonder the illuminated fountains at the great dam on the river Cauvery, and the city, brilliantly lit up, from Chamundi Hill. On the morning of January 13 the fort at Seringapatam and the tombs of

> Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan were inspected, and the party entrained for Bangalore.[30]

Jung's itinerary would not have been very different a few days later. He mentioned the "beautiful city with the nocturnal lights on Chamundi hill" in a letter to Subramanya Iyer in 1938.[31] He had traveled to Mysore from Madras on January 19, spending two or three days in Iyer's company.[32] Jung's fundamental views on Indian philosophy were confirmed after his talks with Iyer. In his later years, when Jung wrote clearly and emphatically about the differences between Indian philosophy and Western psychology, his convictions came from his exhaustive exchanges with scholars and philosophers in India, including the ones he had with Subramanya Iyer.

The Grotesque Splendor of Indian Art

The differences with Iyer and other philosophers in Calcutta did not deter Jung from exploring and admiring the spiritual wealth of Hinduism. He took Würfel's recommendation and made a detour from Mysore (see the map of Jung's itinerary) toward Trichur in Kerala. This meant a lengthy trip by road to the interior of Kerala, but Jung was keen to explore this unknown cultural spot that had been recommended so highly by Würfel. He was not disappointed by what he found there.

> In the overflowing wealth of Indian spirituality there is reflected a vision of the soul which at first appears strange and inaccessible to the Greek-trained European mind. Our minds perceive things, our eyes, as Gottfried Keller says, "drink what the eyelids hold of the golden abundance of the world," and we draw conclusions about the inner world from our wealth of outward impressions. We even derive its content from outside on the principle that "nothing is in the mind which was not previously in the senses." This principle seems to have no validity in India. Indian thought and Indian art merely *appear* in the sense-world, but do not derive from it. Although often expressed with startling sensuality, they are, in their truest essence, unsensual, not to say suprasensual. It is not the world of senses, of the body, of colours and sounds, not human passions that are born anew in transfigured form, or with realistic pathos, through the creativity of the Indian soul, but rather an underworld or an overworld of a metaphysical nature, out of which strange forms emerge into the familiar earthy scene. For instance, if one carefully observes the tremendously impressive impersonations of the gods performed by the Kathakali dancers of southern India, there is not a single natural gesture to be seen. Everything is bizarre, subhuman and superhuman at once. The dancers do not walk like human beings—they glide; they do not think with their heads but with their hands. Even their human faces vanish behind blue-enamelled masks. The world we know offers nothing even remotely comparable to this grotesque splendour. Watching these spectacles one is transported to a world of dreams, for that is the only place where we might conceivably meet with anything similar. But the Kathakali dancers, as we see them in the flesh or in the temple sculptures, are not nocturnal phantoms; they are intensely dynamic

> figures, consistent in every detail, or as if they are grown organically. These are no shadows or ghosts of a bygone reality, they are more like realities which have not yet been, potential realities which might at any moment step over the threshold.[33]

It was Alice Boner who had introduced Würfel to the Kathakali dance center in Kerala. Boner's own experiences of Vallathol's school are vividly captured in her diaries.

> Alice was the first person to discover the great art of Kathakali dancing, which still existed in a few forgotten villages in the state of Trichur in Kerala, in southeast India. She encouraged a local poet called Vallathol to bring together the best of the surviving masters of this remarkable art, and helped him found the Kerala Kala Mandalam, the famous school of Kathakali, in the village of Chiruthuruthi. The school later became one of the greatest glories of India.[34]

Jung writes in his private journal that he traveled to Trichur (Trissur) from Mysore, several hundred kilometers away on January 23. He visited the zoo and the local temples during the day, but it was the evening rendition of the ancient dance form Kathakali, of "incessant, clever drumming that shakes up the dormant solar plexus," that mesmerized Jung and evoked in him a new idea of reality beyond the ordinary, everyday senses.[35]

> Anyone who wholeheartedly surrenders to these impressions will soon notice that these figures do not strike the Indians themselves as dreamlike but as real. And, indeed they touch upon something in our own depths, too, with an almost terrifying intensity, though we have no words to express it. At the same time, one notices that the more deeply one is stirred the more our sense-world fades into a dream, and that we seem to wake up in a world of gods, so immediate is their reality.[36]

Cheruthuruthi, the small village in Kerala thirty-three kilometers from Trichur where Jung encountered this ancient dance form for the first time, is the place where the poet Mahakavi Vallathol founded the famed Kerala Kalamandalam in 1930. It took Vallathol many years of dedicated planning and fund-raising to build a school where the finest ancient Indian art form could be taught and practiced. It was this school for which Alfred Würfel had asked Fowler McCormick's support, after the latter had written to Würfel about their "sensational impressions" at Kalamandalam. After Trichur, Jung traveled to Trivandrum, where he delivered his last formal lectures in India and met up with an old Dutch acquaintance.

"The Unconscious Mind"—Jung's Lecture at Trivandrum

Jung was called upon to attend to his official tasks for the last time when he was in Trivandrum. Although most members of the scientific delegation had left the shores of India by this time, several were still engaged with Indian academia. Jung was asked to deliver lectures at the University of Travancore (now the University of Kerala).

> The activities of delegates were not confined to Calcutta and to the places visited during the tours. Thus, Prof. R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., following from Bombay an itinerary independently of the main party, lectured at Hyderabad (twice), Lucknow (twice), Aligarh, and Benares, and again at Bombay on his homeward journey, besides giving a course at Calcutta University . . . Prof. C. B. Fawcett, Prof. R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S., Prof. C. G. Jung, and Prof. W. M. Tattersall visited and spoke at the University of Travancore in Trivandrum.[37]

Jung traveled to Cochin (Ernakulam) on January 24, noting in his private journal that he stayed at the Malabar Hotel on Willingdon Island. On January 25, he traveled on to Trivandrum, some two hundred kilometers from Cochin on the western coast, where he stayed for three days to keep his commitments at the University of Travancore.

The University of Travancore in Trivandrum was founded in 1937 under the reign of the Maharajah of Travancore (Padmanabha Dasa, or Sri Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma), who ruled over the princely state of Travancore from 1930 to 1956. His *diwan* (prime minister) from 1936 to 1947 was the controversial and eminent statesman C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, who was also the first vice-chancellor of the University of Travancore.[38] While the local dailies covered the lectures of the visiting scientists such as those delivered by Prof. W. M. Tattersall and others, there is no mention of Jung's presence in any of the Malayalam language newspapers of that period.[39] That Jung did deliver a lecture at the university on January 28 is known from a report in *The Hindu*, January 31, 1938:

> Dr. Jung, well known psychologist and one of the delegates to the Science Congress, delivered a lecture last evening on "The Unconscious Mind" at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall under the auspices of the Travancore University.[40]

In this lecture Jung spoke about the philosophical origins of the concept of the "unconscious" and its subsequent development as a psychological concept. He gave "some amazing instances" of the unconscious, of a person with a dual personality who showed traits of his future personality. He said that unconscious traits are present in everyone and "every woman had in herself a bit of man and vice-versa."[41]

While there are no comprehensive records of Jung's lectures extant in the University of Travancore libraries, there is an anecdote that continues to linger about his visit even today. Jung's enlightening talk at the university apparently generated some drama when Jung, incensed at having been introduced as "Jung" (pronounced without an inflection), reprimanded the speaker. He was displeased probably because this was yet another instance of India's indifference toward him. The outburst caused some consternation among those who witnessed the scene. More than his lecture, which no one today seems to recall, it was this incident that remained as a memory of his visit to Kerala.[42]

The University of Travancore did not have a department of psychology until 1957. Like many other universities in India, the subject of psychology was initially aligned with philosophy.[43] Given this rudimentary setting, Jung's talk on the unconscious mind may have sounded somewhat far-fetched to the academic audience.

Certain other incidents marked Jung's stay in Trivandrum. He met up with a Dutch scholar, Gualthernus H. Mees, and reportedly stayed with him.[44] Gualthernus Mees had come to India in 1936 to meet Sri Ramana Maharshi, and like numerous other oriental enthusiasts, had become drawn to the holy man at the very first meeting.[45] Mees later took on the name of Sadhu Ekarasa and founded an ashram in Trivandrum, initiating other Westerners into Indian spirituality.[46] Mees was already acquainted with Jung, and when he met him in Trivandrum, they had long confabulations over Sri Ramana Maharshi. Being an ardent devotee of Sri Ramana and the Indian spiritual way of life, Mees found Jung's skepticism about the Maharshi objectionable. Jung would not be persuaded to visit Sri Ramana by Mees. Glimpses of their differences can be found in Jung's scathing response to Mees in a letter, written in September 1947.[47] Jung's refusal to meet Sri Ramana would have been considered presumptuous, given that thousands of travelers from the Western world came to Sri Ramana to catch a glimpse of him and receive his blessings. The Ramana Maharshi ashram at Tiruvannamalai was in fact inundated with spiritual devotees from the West in the decade of the thirties (including W. Somerset Maugham, who visited the ashram in 1938). Jung's avoidance of the holy man would have been considered a sign of irreverence toward Eastern gurus. But Jung was firm about his views. He wrote a stirring psychological commentary on the

Maharshi and the holy men of India in his introduction to Heinrich Zimmer's *Der Weg zum Selbst: Lehre und Lebn des Indischen Helligen Shri Ramna Maharshi aus Tiruvannamalai* (1944), in which he put across his carefully thought out considerations on Indian holy men and spirituality.[48]

> The Eastern peoples are threatened with a rapid collapse of their spiritual values, and what replaces them cannot always be counted among the best that Western civilization has produced. From this point of view, one could regard Ramakrishna and Shri Ramana as modern prophets, who play the same compensatory role in relation to their people as that of the Old Testament prophets in relation to the "unfaithful" children of Israel. Not only do they exhort their compatriots to remember their thousand-year-old spiritual culture, they actually embody it and thus serve as an impressive warning, lest the demands of the soul be forgotten amid the novelties of Western civilization with its materialistic technology and commercial acquisitiveness.[49]

In the last days of his stay in Kerala, apart from his confabulations with Mees, Jung may have witnessed a royal ceremony at the palace of the Maharaja of Travancore. A reference of this is found in a letter written in 1939: "Hence twice a year in India even today, the Maharajah of Travancore, with torso bared and bare feet, must accompany the god to the bathing space with his whole court."[50]

During that week Jung made a jaunt to Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari), the southernmost tip of the mainland and the confluence of the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian Ocean. In a letter to Mees, Jung wrote, "I wish I could stand once more on Cape Comorin and know once more that this world is an incurable illusion."[51] It struck him more and more that the realities of the Western world were anything but an illusion, and the Eastern approach of *samadhi* or sublimation was not suited to a Westerner's life. He was profoundly impressed with the wisdom of Eastern spirituality, which he discovered not in the venerated holy personas or in the metaphysical dogmas of philosophers, but in the historic Hindu and Buddhist religions sites, in the grotesque splendor of Indian art and dance, in the lofty mountains of the north, and in the wise counsel of the priests and monks of the temples. Jung was convinced of India's spiritual vigor, palpable even in the most ordinary Indian, whose devotion to family, natural simplicity, and humanness impressed Jung far more than the exalted saintliness of the revered gurus.[52]

Jung's Exit from Bow's End

On January 28, Jung departed from Trivandrum and proceeded to Madurai. The stopover at Madurai was planned so that he could leave the subcontinent from Rameshwaram on Pamban Island. Jung was interested in Ceylon. But before he set foot there, Jung visited Meenakshi Sundareswarar, the Shiva temple at Madurai, also known as the Great Temple. The origins of the Meenakshi Sundareswarar temple date back to the early decades of the twelfth century. The temple's architectural beauty is attributed to the artistic zest of the Nayaka rulers, who governed Madurai in the sixteenth century and under whose reign the temples were built. Western travelers visited this temple before the 1900s, as can be seen in Keyserling's account of Madurai in *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher* and in W. S. Caine's account in *Picturesque India*.[53]

The principal deity of Madurai temple is the goddess Parvati, whose consort is Shiva. Jung did not see the inner sanctum, but he witnessed the ceremonial rituals in the early hours of the morning while walking through the pillared *mandapams* (halls). The sight of the majestic elephants and camels marching through the sculpted pavilions, the priests carrying the sacred water for oblations, and the sound of drumbeats in the background left an indelible impression on Jung's mind. That he was alive and attentive to the scenes around the temple premises is known from his reminiscence of his visit:

> The Sanskrit word *mandala* means "circle." It is the Indian term for the circles drawn in religious rituals. In the great temple of Madura, in southern India, I saw how a picture of this kind was made. It was drawn by a woman on the floor of the *mandapam* (porch), in coloured chalks, and measured about ten feet across.
>
> A pandit who accompanied me said in reply to my questions that he could give me no information about it. Only the women who drew such pictures knew what they meant. The woman herself was non-committal; she evidently did not want to be disturbed in her work. Elaborate mandalas, executed in red chalk, can also be found on the whitewashed walls of many huts.[54]

Jung was evidently referring to the artwork of *kolam*, popular in south India and prevalent in many other parts of India. The origins of *kolam* are obscure, but what Jung describes is a familiar everyday ritual performed by Indian womenfolk in traditional homes and in temple sites. Jung identified a quintessential Indian custom when he described this scene and related it to mandala symbolism. The ubiquitous mandala symbol, similar to the *kolam* artwork of southern India, reveals an archetypal religious image. Having

studied the symbolism of the mandala before he journeyed to India, it was not difficult for Jung to notice the similarity with the Indian *kolam*. According to his notes, he felt at ease in the temple sites of southern India because he found them cleaner and far less crowded as compared to the northern temples. Jung seemed to have also spent some time in the adjoining temple alleys, where he picked up a copy of the ancient Indian board game Parama Padam.



Figure 6.5: The Paramapada Sopana Patam (the Steps to the Highest Abode), an ancient Indian dice game, was collected by Jung, possibly near a temple site in southern India. The game (also known as snakes and ladders) is symbolized by various animal figures, images of wise and holy men, ladders and snakes, in a single tableau, denoting man's innate desire to reach God. Credit: Jung Family Archive

As he departed from Madurai, Jung entered the final leg of his tour and the sixth week of his journey. Traveling across several thousand miles by train and car, battling a grave tropical ailment, fulfilling a string of official

commitments, with only Fowler McCormick by his side, Jung had finally managed to keep his tryst with the East. The journey had been far from easy. He had been confronted with unexpected realities at the congressional gathering and had seen for himself how alien his psychology appeared to the Eastern world. Far from lionizing him, the Indian audience showed their indifference and sometimes their ignorance about his work. Despite this response, Jung did not contemplate leaving the journey incomplete. He braved a long and strenuous round of travel, and although he was fully aware that not many in India were interested in knowing about his psychology, he willingly shared his ideas when called upon to do so. India had stirred his spirit, but not in expected and likely ways.

Dhanushkodi (Bow's End), at the southeastern tip of Pamban Island, is geographically land's end on the eastern coast of India. The place is infused with mythological significance as it is believed to have been from here that Rama (the heroic prince in the Ramayana epic) built the bridge (*setu*) for his brigade (an army of monkeys) to reach Ceylon. It was also here that he prayed to Lord Shiva to absolve him of his sin of killing Ravana. This was where Rama used his bow (*dhanush*) to break the bridge after his return from Lanka.[55] At Dhanushkodi, the land merges into the sea and projects outward toward Ceylon. The remnants of an ancient bridge can still be seen between Dhanushkodi and Talaimannar, on Mannar Island at the northwestern tip of Ceylon. Land's End is eighteen miles from Dhanushkodi, the shore town, and has been the geographical conduit between India and Ceylon for centuries. In the colonial era, an Indo-Ceylon ferry service plied this waterway, carrying passengers and goods between India and Ceylon. Dhanushkodi is close to the temple town of Rameshwaram (Kashi Rameshwaram), one of the holiest pilgrimage centers of India. Keyserling visited Rameshwaram in 1911, when he entered the Indian subcontinent through this route, and described the temple in these words:

> What a wondrous introduction into the land of India! The Temple of Rameshvaram, on the southern extremity of the peninsula, lies there lonely, in a palm grove surrounded by the sea. It is a building hardly smaller than the largest monasteries of our Middle Ages, and its passages cannot be rivalled for beauty of form and colour anywhere else on earth. This temple is said to have been founded by Rama himself after he had conquered Sita from Ravana. It is considered the second most holy place of Hindustan. Every one who can possibly manage to do so makes the pilgrimage to this place after going to Benares. And indeed, the whole of India seems to be represented here. I can see every colour, every costume, every type, from the dusky Tamyls to the white-skinned men from Kashmir; I find proud Rajputs on the one hand and Sanyassis on the other, whose hair has turned to a mass of

> felt. Languages and dialects without number resound in the air, a hundred different traditions speak from the different faces, caste rubs shoulders with caste, and prejudice with prejudice. I have never seen such a variety among men before.[56]

It is not certain if Jung visited the temple of Rameshwaram when he crossed over to Ceylon as his journal makes no mention of it. He would have taken a short ferry service to reach Talaimannar, where he would have disembarked and taken a train to Colombo.[57] This was the customary route for passengers coming from India, and Jung and Fowler would have been briefed about it while planning their itinerary. There were others of the scientific delegation who were heading toward Ceylon during that week, but it is not known if Jung traveled with them or only with Fowler.[58]

A Touch of Paradise and the South Seas—Ceylon

Ceylon had been declared a British colony after the British annexed Kandy and signed the Kandyan Convention.[59] The Kandyan Convention acceded to British dominion in Ceylon from 1815 to 1948, with the explicit understanding that the practice of the Buddhist religion would be safeguarded on the island. This agreement was flouted by the British, resulting in a powerful local rebellion, which the British ruthlessly suppressed to establish their dominion in Ceylon until 1948. The island became a flourishing center for tea and rubber cultivation under British administration, its economic potential fully exploited by the ruling British. Under British dominion, Ceylon was one of the richest nations in the world during the early decades of the 1900s.

The economic and commercial interests prompted the British to bring thousands of laborers from southern India to work in the tea and rubber plantations of Ceylon. This diversified the country's homogeneous ethnic population of Buddhist Sinhalese to introduce Hindu Tamils into the Ceylonese mainstream. The health of the plantation workers, who were susceptible to tropical ailments such as malaria, compelled the British to pay heed to the medical facilities on the island. The British commissioned certified doctors to administer medical practice and train local personnel; thus began a long history of government-run health-care institutions in Ceylon. The Ceylon branch of the British Medical Association (BMA) came into existence in the wake of this history, and it was here that Jung's interface

with Ceylon took place. Some of the migrant Tamil population from India, domiciled in Ceylon, continued to have close ties with Calcutta, where the first medical college of Asia was established in 1835. Calcutta was a favored destination for Ceylonese students who wished to pursue medical education in the early 1900s.

Jung headed toward Kandy almost immediately after he reached the Colombo port, which would have been on January 29 or 30. He set off on this difficult journey to Kandy after a long trip from Madurai because he knew of the significance of the Buddhist temples in Kandy from friends like Zimmer and A. Coomaraswamy. Keyserling also visited Kandy and wrote:

> The landscape which unfolds before the traveller, as the spiral of the mountain railway carries him from the oppressive heat of Colombo to the cooler regions of Kandy, is nothing short of magical. The richness of the flora is overwhelming everywhere, but it has its own marked peculiarities at every level, so that the eye, when it looks far down from the heights, beholds not one but many forms of nature, which are either sharply defined, one against the other, or else pass gradually into one another. Perfect beauty abounds everywhere, that beauty which falls to the lot of everything, in which meaning and expression are one. And then Kandy! This peaceful lake encircled by dark green hills, surrounded by trees which blossom like flowers, and embedded between the richest pastures this lake with its uncertain misty tints in which the brilliant sunshine is reflected only as an echo, looks like a moonstone against a background of dark velvet.[60]

In Kandy, in the interior of hilly Ceylon, Jung spent a day at the Dalada Maligawa temple overlooking Kandy Lake, famed for housing the relics of Buddha. This ancient site captured Jung's attention, not only for its charming evening rituals but also because of the Buddhist canons (ancient Pali scrolls) housed in the temple library. The sounds of drums, the chant of the litanies, and the company of the benevolent Buddhist priests made the trip memorable for Jung.

> How charming is the worship of the Buddhist! When the sun has gone down, the bellman calls the community to prayer; then these gentle brown creatures, with their long, bluish black glossy hair and their exquisite hands (men and women are scarcely distinguishable) stream into the Dalada Maligawa. All who can afford it, present a candle, and every one carries an offering of blossoming flowers. The kindly priest in his yellow garment stands before the sanctuary in which the tooth of Buddha is enshrined behind the glistening golden door with its precious decorations, and he receives the gifts of the community with an encouraging smile. Even in Ceylon, where the original teaching exists in all its purity, Buddha is worshipped as God by the people, and he is surrounded by many other mythical creatures, angels, saints, Hindu gods and divinities from the Tamyl Pantheon.[61]

It was the end of January, and with only a few days left before his

departure to Europe, Jung now headed back to Colombo. Jung's point of contact being the British Medical Association (BMA), he formally addressed the members during his brief stopover. The Ceylon branch of the BMA had been established in 1887 and had no formal department of psychology, but Jung was invited to address the fraternity by the vice-president, Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel.[62] A formal dinner was hosted in Jung's honor, and the event was captured in Dr. Kaleel's reminiscences, recorded by his biographer, M. M. Thawfeeq, who wrote:

> Another story is his recollection of the birth of his younger brother, Mousoof. The recollection was made at the invitation of world-famous psychologist and psychiatrist Dr. Carl Gustav Jung (another of the Analytical Psychology System) to members at an informal gathering after his address to the Ceylon Medical Association (of which Dr. Kaleel was Vice-President and later President). He picked on Dr. Kaleel: "Can you recollect the earliest incident in your life?"
>
> The birth of Mousoof flashed across his mind. Dr. Jung listened attentively as Dr. Kaleel recounted the incident, how he and other children were shooed out of the labour room by his aunts when his mother developed birth pangs, how he cried loudly, and some time later in the day he was dressed up and allowed into the room. A tiny pillow was placed on his outstretched legs as he sat on a mat and the new-born infant was placed on the pillow with the happy announcement, "Here is your brother!" That scene made a deep impression on four-year-old Kaleel. After that solitary incident he could remember nothing until he started his schooling at Hameediah.
>
> Dr. Jung was most appreciative of the story and told Kaleel that he was researching on child psychology and this incident would help in his analytical study. The B.M.A. (Ceylon Branch) gave a dinner in his honour. Dr. Lucian de Zilwa, proposing a toast to the chief guest, made a long speech in German, a language in which he was proficient. Dr. Jung thanked Dr. de Zilwa in a few words in German and then spoke in English, which all understood. How foolish even eminent men can be sometimes, for there was no one except Dr. Jung who understood what Dr. de Zilwa had said.[63]

The Rotherfield Society and Jung's Lecture on Dreams

The BMA dinner marked the end of Jung's formal interactions on the Indian subcontinent. Jung was now set to travel back home, but a chance encounter (possibly at the BMA) turned his last evening into an unforgettable one. At the formal gathering, a Ceylonese psychiatrist asked Jung to visit the Rotherfield Society at his residence, where a motley group of intellectuals and culture buffs gathered from time to time to hear talks on psychology and education. Psychology was not yet part of the formal academic curriculum at the university, but a long history of British medical practice in Ceylon had

introduced the subject of mental health in the enlightened circles of Colombo and in the outreaches of the mental hospitals run by the government. W. S. Ratnavale was a pioneering figure in psychiatry in colonial Ceylon, and it was he who invited Jung to give his lecture to the Rotherfield Society.

Jung's sterling talk on dreams was captured vividly in the *Ceylon Daily News* on February 2, 1938, by an imaginative and enthusiastic reporter, the setting of the Rotherfield Society highlighting the excitement and uniqueness of the occasion. In the words of David Ratnavale, W. S. Ratnavale's only surviving son, the memory of Jung's visit to Albert Crescent, where the Rotherfield Society was housed, was forever etched in memory.[64] Describing his father and the building where the Rotherfield Society met, David Ratnavale wrote:

> The rather imposing spacious house still stands. It was . . . a two-storey bungalow with one third-storey room. The Rotherfield Clinic (where WSR saw patients) was on the first floor and to one side of the main house.
>
> The Jung meeting was held in the space that was the drawing room and the dining room which could accommodate at least hundred people. There was no house number but the address was simply Rotherfield, Albert Crescent, Colombo, in the heart of a posh section of the city known as Cinnamon Gardens. . . .
>
> As regards my recall about Prof. Jung's visit I do remember this kindly, soft spoken, and respectful man when he was introduced to our family. His moustache was striking as few people wore beards at the time. I thought he had a beard. It must have been after the lecture and just before dinner when he spoke to me. I was hardly ten but definitely at the "you'd better get lost" stage of thrusting myself into adult company. So I was not at the dinner table. The dinner was held in our dining room, and I think there were probably ten to fifteen people present, my parents and the society's founders. I don't remember much more, or if there were other Europeans but I know it was a formal dinner with servants in attendance and possibly a mixture of European and local food. I distinctly remember watching the event through the trellis on the landing of the stairway.
>
> I deeply regret that I did not follow up with Dr Jung or the Institute, although I visited Switzerland.



Figure 6.6: Dr. W. S. Ratnavale of the Rotherfield Society, Colombo, who invited Jung to deliver his final talk at the Rotherfield Society in 1938. Credit: Photograph courtesy Dr. David Ratnavale, Bethesda, Maryland, USA.

In order to place things in perspective, it is necessary to provide some background of Dr. William S. Ratnavale, who in 1937 created the Rotherfield Psychological Society. The name Rotherfield was borrowed from the house name of his residence following his retirement as Medical Superintendent of the General Hospital, Colombo, Sri Lanka's foremost medical institution and teaching hospital. It was here in his home on Albert Crescent that the Society and Clinic was started. Dr. Ratnavale was the first Ceylonese physician to travel to England to become a psychiatrist and the first native to be the medical superintendent of the Angoda Mental Hospital (Dr. Ratnavale was acting Medical Superintendent of Angoda Asylum and in

> 1927, was the first Ceylonese doctor to hold that post). He earned his basic medical degree from Calcutta Medical College where he travelled from Ceylon, a route that Ceylonese students wishing to pursue a career in medicine normally took. Subsequently, he made two journeys to the UK, the first for an exposure to British medical practice and basic certification in medicine, surgery and tropical medicine.[65] On his second visit to England (1926) he came under the influence of the then burgeoning schools of psychology working and training at the infamous Bedlam Hospital later re-named the Bethlem Royal Hospital. During his tenure in London he underwent a personal psychoanalysis, coming under the influence of the teachings of Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung and their colleagues in England and Europe.
>
> For Dr. Ratnavale the founding of the Psychological Society and the Rotherfield Clinic was his opportunity to fulfill a lifelong dream to educate the general public on the subject of psychology and its application to understanding normal and abnormal human behaviour.[66]

Jung was thrown into an extraordinary milieu that spring evening when he stepped into Albert Crescent. He was perhaps curious to see the newfangled psychology club that Ratnavale had brought him to. He had not been invited by any psychologist in Calcutta, but in Ceylon he saw the rudiments of a psychology club, the only one that he came across in his journey through the subcontinent. The evening did not disappoint him, for despite his fatigue and many weeks spent away from home, he was in the home of an Eastern psychiatrist, in the company of culture enthusiasts, journalists, educators, and medicos who were keen to know about him and his work in psychology. Many of them were acquainted with his name and work, and his talk was received with enthusiasm.

> Dreams are not the product of conscious and intelligent thinking or conscious activity. They cannot be directed, produced at will or controlled. They are the expression of an autonomous functioning of our psyche.[67]

Jung's introductory remarks on the unconscious may seem commonplace today, but in 1938, when the Eastern world was still under the shackles of imperial rule, struggling to gain an identity of its own, when *psychology* was no more than a ghost word or an inconceivable human malaise, Jung's utterances may be considered groundbreaking, not only for an uninitiated Eastern audience but also for those medical practitioners present in the audience who had a limited knowledge of analytical psychology per se. The medical world, like other scientific disciplines, was still predominantly guided by the values of scientific materialism, and talk of the unconscious as the "two million old man" or notions such as the "the medieval outlook" or "primitive mentality of man" would have sounded incredibly fantastic or

woolly to the scientific members of the audience. But despite these far-fetched expressions and the implausibility of the ideas he doled out to the eager Rotherfield enthusiasts (W. S. Ratnavale had a wide following in Colombo and enjoyed immense popularity), Jung's talk generated adequate excitement. The group was able to grasp his ideas, and they surprised him with their queries. One member wondered aloud if everyone had dreams or if dreams had any practical use at all, while another asked if one could develop capacities to "dive deep into the unconscious and make use of it." The gist of the talk was captured in the following morning's paper, and the memory of the visit stayed on in young David's mind many decades after the incident.

W. S. Ratnavale would have been grateful to Jung for consenting to visit Rotherfield. He had introduced Jung to the gathering as "one of the few who had contributed towards the knowledge of modern psychology."[68] Jung had stated in turn that "the actual psyche was really unconscious and greater experience would impress them of the fact that the consciousness of man was like a little island floating in an ocean."[69] Ratnavale's reaction to these words of Jung's is not known. As a psychiatrist who was engaged in popularizing the topic of mental health in the island nation, Ratnavale took great interest in the topic of dreams and had presented a talk on dreams at a Rotary Club luncheon just six months before Jung's visit to Colombo.[70]

Ratnavale was perhaps hearing Jung's ideas for the very first time himself. He was a widely respected figure in Colombo, and the gathering would have been immensely pleased with his initiative of bringing Jung to the Society.[71] The two never corresponded, and Jung did not refer to his last evening at the Rotherfield Society in his reminiscences, but Jung's presence did not go unrecorded in Ceylon. Indeed, some of the most impressive moments of Jung's visit to the subcontinent were his brilliantly conceived talks, both formal and informal, which left a lasting imprint on the minds of those who heard him then.

Evidence that Jung and Fowler were aboard the *S.S. Corfu* on February 3, 1938, is known from Alfred Würfel's account of Fowler's letter written on the same day.[72] According to Jung's own reminiscences, he was so overwhelmed by "a plethora of impressions" that he did not wish to disembark at Bombay when the ship made its last stop in India. "Instead, I buried myself in my Latin alchemical texts. But India did not pass me by without a trace; it left tracks which lead from one infinity into another

infinity."[73]

NOTES

[1] Jung referred to his journey to India as an intermezzo that fell in between his readings of *Theatrum Chemicum*. See Barbara Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), p. 242.

[2] "The Indian feels himself to be outside good and evil." C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, edited by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p. 276. Jung defined the term *nirdvandva* as the liberation from opposites.

[3] Jung, "Good and Evil in Analytical Psychology" (1959), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 456.

[4] "Real liberation becomes possible for me only when I have done all that I was able to do, when I have completely devoted myself to a thing and participated in it to the utmost." Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 276.

[5] Jung, "Good and Evil in Analytical Psychology," p. 459.

[6] See Jung, "Good and Evil in Analytical Psychology," p. 463. He also used the term *Atman* in *Aion*, where he compared the Brahman and Atman with the psychological notion of "Self " and referred to S. Radhakrishnan's *The Principle of Upanishads*. See C. G. Jung, *Aion* (1951), vol. 9ii, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), §§ 348–349.

[7] Jung, "Good and Evil in Analytical Psychology," § 873.

[8] Jung wrote several of his seminal essays on the Self with references to the East in the decade of the 1950s, after his return from India.

[9] C. G. Jung, "Psychological Commentary on *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*" (1954), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), § 787.

[10] See chapter 2. Jung's readings about the East, in particular Indian architecture, art, myths, symbols, and religion, suggest that before his journey

of 1937–38 he was familiar with many of the historical places that he visited in India.

[11] John Murray's *Handbook for India* would have been especially helpful in planning the passage. Jung mentions Murray's *Handbook* in "What India Can Teach Us" (1939), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), § 1013.

[12] For information on the activities of the scientific delegation in south India, see "Madras University Entertains Overseas Delegates," *The Hindu*, January 11, 1938.

[13] Alain Daniélou, *The Way to the Labyrinth: Memories of East and West*, trans. Marie-Claire Cournand (New York: New Directions Books, 1981). Daniélou was an Orientalist scholar, linguist, and musician who lived in India for twenty years and became well versed with Hinduism. Raymond Burnier was a Swiss photographer who gained acclaim with his book of photographs of the Konarak temple. Both Burnier and Daniélou lived in Benares near Alice Boner's Assi Ghat residence and were her close friends.

[14] Jung, "What India Can Teach Us," § 1011.

[15] For his discussion of the psychology of the primitive and his conception of the primitive mentality, see C. G. Jung, "Archaic Man" (1931), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1964. See also Jung's descriptions of his travels in Africa in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 238–246.

[16] Jung described his conversation with a Hindu pandit at Konarak on this subject in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 277–278.

[17] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 289–290.

[18] In a letter to Guathernus H. Mees, Jung wrote: "I had a chance, when I was in Madras, to see the Maharshi, but by that time I was so imbued with the overwhelming Indian atmosphere of irrelevant wisdom and with the obvious Maya of this world that I didn't care anymore if there had been twelve Maharshis on top of each other." C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1: 1906–1950*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 478. "On the other hand, I studiously avoided all so-called 'holy men.' I did so because I had to make do with my own truth, not accept from others what I could not attain on my

own. I would have felt it as a theft had I attempted to learn from the holy men and to accept their truth for myself." Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 275.

[19] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 478.

[20] S. Muthiah, *A Tradition of Madras: The Taj Connemara* (private publication of the Taj Connemara), p. 11.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18, 20.

[22] Tirukalukundram has two temples—one located atop a hill and the main shrine situated below. Jung visited the latter. Jung jotted down the names of the ten avatars on a piece of paper. A visit to the temple site to corroborate Jung's notes revealed that the *Dasavataram* symbols are engraved on the pillars located around the main sanctum of the temple. This indicates that Jung walked around the inner sanctum of this temple.

[23] C. G. Jung, *Aion* (1951), vol. 9ii, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), § 339.

[24] Tirukalukundram is known as the eagle hillock. Legend has it that eight sages of the Hindu pantheon prayed to Shiva for a boon. When they repeatedly changed their minds about the boon, Shiva was incensed and cursed them to be reborn as eagles.

[25] Jung, *Aion*, § 339, n. 131.

[26] Hermann Keyserling, *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925), p. 116.

[27] Jung had written to Iyer about his impending visit to India; see chapter 1 for details.

[28] E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the Years 1946–1961* (Zürich: Daimon, 1985), p. 78.

[29] Krishna Raja Wodeyar donated approximately 400 acres of land for the creation of India's premier scientific institution, the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, in 1911. Bangalore was then a princely constituency under the maharaja of Mysore.

[30] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting (108th Year), Cambridge, August 17–24* (London: Office of the British Association, Burlington House, 1938), p. 35.

[31] Jung's journal mentions "Mysore, the model state and the wild mountains inhabited by primitive Todas," while a letter to Subramanya Iyer

written in August 1938 refers to his sojourn in Mysore. See Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 247. Jung may have also visited Mysore University where Prof. M. V. Gopalswami had set up the department of psychology in 1924, but this information could not be confirmed.

[32] "I had searching talks with S. Subramanya Iyer, the guru of the Maharajah of Mysore, whose guest I was for some time." Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 275.

[33] C. G. Jung, "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation" (1948), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), § 908.

[34] Daniélou, *The Way to the Labyrinth*, p. 90.

[35] C. G. Jung, "The Dreamlike World of India" (1939), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), § 986. Jung said that the Western conception of reality was based on the principle, "Nothing is in the mind that was not previously in the senses," a premise he learned from the *Orbis Pictus* (see chapter 1).

[36] Jung, "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation," § 909.

[37] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 36.

[38] C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer (1879–1966) was a lawyer, administrator, politician, and *diwan* of Travancore. He is known for introducing the Temple Entry Proclamation Act, universal adult franchise, and also for suppressing the communist rebellion in Travancore.

[39] The prominent Malayalam dailies of that era, namely, *Malayala Manorama*, *Deepika*, and *Mathrubhumi*, did not carry news about Jung's lecture(s) in January 1938, although news of other congressional delegates is found. The official correspondence of C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer for January 1938 and the preceding months, housed at the National Archives, New Delhi, does not provide any information on Jung or on the other congressional delegates visiting the University of Travancore.

[40] "The Unconscious Mind," *The Hindu*, January 31, 1938.

[41] *Ibid*.

[42] This anecdote was recounted by Dr. Mathew, an octogenarian psychiatrist from Trivandrum, who had heard it from a journalist present at the venue where Jung's lecture was given. Archival records of the newspaper

report which this journalist wrote could not be traced, and the Kerala University archives showed no records of Jung's visit to the university.

[43] Information about the psychology department of Kerala University states: "Dr. E. I. George, the first Head of the Department was a lecturer in Philosophy at the University College. When it was known that there was a proposal to start a Psychology Department in the University he went to England and did his Ph.D. under the famous H. J. Eysenck of London University. He joined the Psychology Department as Reader and Head and started the Department in 1957." See www.orma.co.in.

[44] A report by Mees's disciple, Hamsananda (Johannus) de Reade, mentions that Jung stayed with Mees in Trivandrum in 1938. See http://www.newlives.freeola.net/interviews/36_hamsa_johannus_de_reade.ph

[45] Mees recounts his experience in Laxmi Narain, ed., *Face to Face with Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Hyderabad: Sri Ramana Kendram, 2009), p. 26. He gives an elaborate account of his first encounter with and impression of Sri Ramana Maharshi. This publication also has an account of Paul Brunton's reminiscences of Sri Ramana (see chapter 2).

[46] Mees's ashram was named Kanvashrama Trust. See de Reade's account of his guru, Sadhu Ekarasa (G. Mees), in Malcolm Tillis, ed., *New Lives* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2004).

[47] Jung wrote: "I'm well aware of the fact that my very western criticism of such a phenomenon as the Maharshi was rather upsetting to you." Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 477.

[48] C. G. Jung, "The Holy Men of India" (1944), in *Psychology and Religion*, vol. 11, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958). He also spoke to Miguel Serrano about his views on India and his avoidance of holy men; see appendix B, "Archival Extracts—Personal Memoirs."

[49] Jung, "The Holy Men of India," § 962.

[50] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 260.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 477.

[52] Jung wrote about meeting an ordinary Indian man in Trivandrum, whom he mistakenly believed to be a devotee of Sri Ramana Maharshi: "He was an unassuming little man, of a social status which we would describe as that of a primary-school teacher . . . in this modest, kindly, devout, and childlike spirit I encountered a man who had absorbed the wisdom of the

Maharshi with utter devotion, and at the same time has surpassed his master because, notwithstanding his cleverness and holiness, he had 'eaten' the world. I acknowledge with deep gratitude this meeting with him; nothing better could have happened to me." Jung, "The Holy Men of India," § 953.

[53] James Fergusson's writings on Indian architecture, which was in Jung's library, also has a detailed account of the Madurai temple with illustrations. See James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ* (London: India Museum, 1868; reprinted: Whitefish, MO: Kessinger Publishing, 2004).

[54] C. G. Jung, "Concerning Mandala Symbolism" (1950), in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious,* vol. 9i, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), § 609.

[55] Various myths are linked to Rameshwaram. It can be conjectured that Jung left India from Dhanushkodi because his hand-drawn map of his Indian journey, reproduced at the beginning of the book, shows exactly this spot on the eastern shoreline as his point of departure.

[56] Keyserling, *Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, pp. 91–92.

[57] Jung wrote, "Colombo is a busy international port where every day between five and six o'clock a massive downpour descends from a clear sky." *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* p. 283.

[58] Prof. P. A. Buxton, visiting Ceylon, addressed the Colombo branch of the British Medical Association. British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, p. 37

[59] W. S. Caine describes Ceylon during the colonial era. *Picturesque India*, pp. 569–593.

[60] Keyserling, *Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, p. 42.

[61] *Ibid*., p. 56.

[62] M. C. M. Kaleel (1892–1994) was a physician and political activist in colonial Ceylon.

[63] M. M. Thawfeeq, *Memories of a Physician Politician, Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel: A Biographical Sketch* (South Croydon: Marina Academy and Supplies International, 1987), p. 100. It is possible that Jung was referring to his work on children's dreams, which was one of the topics of his four lectures at ETH Zürich between the years 1936 and 1940. The lectures were published separately as *Children's Dreams: Notes from the Seminar Given in*

1936–1940, edited by Lorenz Jung and Maria Meyer-Grass (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008). However, Jung did not make any reference to Kaleel's experience in this book.

[64] David N. Ratnavale, a psychiatrist and specialist in disaster management and collective trauma, was a professor of psychiatry in the United States, China, and Australia, and is now retired.

[65]The *British Medical Journal*, August 6, 1921, 222, states, "Diplomas in the subjects indicated were granted in conjunction with The Royal College of Surgeons of England to the following candidates: Tropical Medicine and Hygiene . . . W. S. Ratnavale."

[66] Personal communication. David Ratnavale provided the newspaper clipping about Jung's lecture, information about his father and Jung's presence in Ceylon in response to my queries.

[67] "Professor Jung's Talk on Dreams—Forty Years of Exploration," *The Ceylon Daily News*, February 2, 1938. See the full report in appendix A, "Archival Extracts—Jung's Public Engagements."

[68] "Professor Jung's Talk on Dreams."

[69] *Ibid*.

[70] See "Your Dream Life Explained," *The Sunday Times*, July 18, 1937, p. 18.

[71] In 1988, years after W. S. Ratnavale had passed away, the Ceylonese educator Goolbai Gunasekara wrote about his sterling contribution to Ceylonese society. See Goolbai Gunasekara, "Dr. Ratnavale—Always Kind and Gentle," *Daily News*, August 1, 1988. See the full report in appendix B, "Archival Extracts—Personal Memoirs."

[72] Alfred Würfel, *India, My Karma: Alfred Würfel Remembers* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2004), p. 116.

[73] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 284.

CHAPTER 7

JUNG'S LINKS WITH INDIA AFTER 1937

> There is no psychology worthy of this name in East Asia, but instead a philosophy consisting entirely of what we would call psychology . . . Your conjecture that the totalistic order has largely been abandoned in the West is in best agreement with the facts . . . The dialogue with the East is therefore extraordinarily important for us as well as for them.
>
> —Carl Jung, in a letter to Karl Kotschau in 1958

Surendranath Dasgupta—An Encounter in Zürich

Jung left Colombo on February 2, 1938, never to travel eastward again. His next interface with India occurred when Surendranath Dasgupta visited Zürich in the summer of 1939. Dasgupta, a renowned Indian scholar, author of *A History of Indian Philosophy*, principal of Sanskrit College (University of Calcutta), and erstwhile teacher of Mircea Eliade, was a brilliant theoretician whom Jung had met on the sidelines of Silver Jubilee Science Congress celebrations in Calcutta.[1] We know that Dasgupta was accompanied by his wife and daughter during that meeting because Jung's correspondence to Dasgupta refers to the latter's family.[2] Dasgupta's encyclopedic knowledge of Indian philosophy was a perfect foil for Jung's scholarly interest in the *yogasutras*. Dasgupta, an authority on Yoga philosophy, gathered that Jung had a vital interest in the *yogasutras* and that the principles of analytical psychology corresponded with its tenets. Jung and Dasgupta instantly connected, but after their first meeting in Calcutta

Dasgupta did not follow up on his contact with Jung until the beginning of 1939.

In January 1939, Dasgupta initiated correspondence with Jung, informing him that he would be in Europe in April and May 1939, and, if invited, he could visit Zürich to lecture at "Jung's institute." He would have meant either the Psychology Club or the ETH Zürich (*Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich*, where Jung was lecturing regularly), for the C. G. Jung Institute had not been established yet.[3] Dasgupta had been invited to Rome for an investiture (he was being conferred a doctor of letters by the University of Rome), and the idea of visiting Zürich for a lecture had occurred to him. He also said that he had lost Jung's address and therefore had been unable to write to him in the interim months. Jung had sent him a copy of one of his books (possibly this was after their meeting in Calcutta), for which Dasgupta thanked him, but he made no mention of the name of the book or its contents.[4]

Jung's response to Dasgupta's letters was initially enthusiastic. In all, ten letters were exchanged (seven by Dasgupta and three by Jung) during the first quarter of 1939, and in them it seems fairly clear that the idea to visit Zürich and the desire to lecture there was Dasgupta's, although Jung seemed happy to entertain his proposal. Jung's vacillation, if there was any, indicated by his not responding to Dasgupta's letters promptly, could have been purely because of his crowded schedule. Although Jung had mentioned several possibilities for the lectures in his correspondence, it was at the Psychology Club in Zürich that Dasgupta's talk was finally accommodated.[5] Most certainly, Jung held him in regard and wished for a dialogue to emerge, for he offered Dasgupta several choices of venues for his talks and even agreed to host him at his residence in Zürich (a friendly gesture by all accounts, given that Jung had met him only a year back in Calcutta). Jung also proposed to meet him at the station, agreed to organize a medical consultation, and asked about arranging his honorarium.[6] This demonstrates Jung's earnestness toward having Dasgupta in Zürich and his interest in pursuing the relation.

Considering that no further evidence of their interaction has surfaced from the Jung archives, it is doubtful if anything worthwhile transpired during the encounter. The title of Dasgupta's talk at the Zürich Psychology Club was "The Relation of Mind and Body according to Yoga."[7] Although both Dasgupta and Jung were interested in the *yogasutras*, it does not seem

that they found a comfortable equation between them during this meeting. Jung never referred to Dasgupta's works in his writings, and according to Claudia Guggenbühl, no further correspondence between them has been found at ETH Zürich. Niggling differences between them may have surfaced in Zürich. After his Indian sojourn, Jung had become particularly conscious of the lack of commonality between the Indian philosophical attitude and the empirical facets of analytical psychology. Dasgupta, on the other hand, was known for his rigid and authoritarian ways.[8] Guggenbühl's account gives a clear description of Dasgupta's intellectual doggedness; he believed Indian philosophy to be superior to all other disciplines. But this superciliousness may not have gone down well with Jung. Unlike Jung, who had an understanding of the philosophical tenets of the East, Dasgupta had no significant exposure to analytical psychology per se. His dogmatism may have become a barrier in forging a meaningful relation with Jung.

Dasgupta's principal interest in Indian philosophy was the *S*ãm*khya-yoga*.[9] His aim was to elucidate the philosophical merits of the *yogasutras* because he felt that the significance of Yoga philosophy had been greatly diminished by its association with magic and occultism.[10] Although he had considerable exposure to Western philosophical thought, Dasgupta was not inspired by it.[11] In her research study on Surendranath Dasgupta and Mircea Eliade, Claudia Guggenbühl says that Dasgupta proclaimed Yoga to be a superior mental science. She cites Dasgupta in this context:

> The word *yoga* is used to denote . . . the arresting of the mental processes and states and all physical, mental and moral accessories connected with them. The word *yoga* is also used to denote mental energy by which the mind is disciplined and the goal of yoga attained. Patañjali defined yoga as the partial and complete or temporary and permanent arrest or cessation of mental states.[12]

Thus, the goal of Yoga that Dasgupta advocated was a dissolution of all mental conflicts through a disciplining of the mind. This was at variance with the goal of psychology, the objective of which was to arrive at an understanding of mental conflicts and processes. Ideologically, Dasgupta did not identify with Western psychological notions, nor did he accept the Tantric and alchemical tenets of the *yogasutras*. These factors may have furthered a rift with Jung during their Zürich encounter.

For his part, Jung was clear that analytical psychology was not metaphysical or speculative in content, and therefore it did not fall under the

purview of philosophy. Even before he journeyed to India, Jung had been skeptical about Westerners adopting Eastern theosophical ideas and yoga practices. “For us the Indian way never leads to the unconscious, but rather to an Indian substitute system,” he wrote to James Kirsch in 1933.[13] Given this viewpoint, it is surprising that Jung even invited Dasgupta to Zürich for a lecture on Yoga philosophy. Whatever the nature of his curiosity, after Dasgupta’s visit Jung was convinced that Indian philosophy as it was interpreted by Dasgupta and many others had little to do with his psychological notions. Thereafter, he distanced himself from Indian philosophers and also from those practitioners who tried to mix the two.[14] In a letter to V. Subramanya Iyer in 1939, Jung wrote:

> The Western mind has renounced metaphysical assertions which are *per definitionem* not verifiable, if only recently so. In the Middle Ages up to the 19**th** century we still believed in the possibility of metaphysical assertions. India, it seems to me, is still convinced of the possibility of metaphysical assertions.[15]

Guggenbühl writes that Dasgupta had once conveyed to Freud that India was the only country where such a Yogic ideal of (mental) liberation was conceived and practiced.[16] Although there is no exact documentation, given this backdrop it is not difficult to imagine that the response Dasgupta generated at the Psychology Club for his lecture on Yoga may not have been enthusiastic.[17] Despite his prolific academic stature and extraordinary eloquence on Yoga philosophy, Surendranath Dasgupta appeared to be unsuited for addressing the audience of the Psychology Club in Zürich. The dialogue between him and Jung went no further; the encounter yielded nothing in terms of an understanding between the East and West and perhaps left the two scholars themselves sorely disappointed. Jung became thoroughly clear that, as an empirical psychologist, his field of enquiry was vastly dissimilar from a metaphysician’s or a philosopher’s, and he was insistent that this not be forgotten ever. In a letter to H. Irminger in 1944, Jung wrote:

> When I was in India, the philosophers there assured me that their enlightened philosophy was infinitely further advanced than mine, whereas I still languished in the darkness of Ahamkara, Maya, etc. . . . All critics of this kind have one thing in common: with a couple of more or less polite remarks they all without exception pass over the facts I have presented and verified, which do not interest them in the least, and want to convert me their special credo . . . My dear Sir! My pursuit is science, not apologetics and not philosophy, and I have neither the capacity, nor the desire to found a religion. My interest is scientific, yours evangelical . . . These two standpoints are mutually exclusive, so that any discussion is impossible. We talk at

cross purposes and charge through open doors.[18]

Hence, even though Jung desired that a dialogue between the West and East ensue, such an exchange did not develop between him and Dasgupta. Given the ideological gap between them, this was not surprising. Dasgupta's stance on Indian philosophy and Jung's firm views on psychology made it difficult for any fruitful deliberation to emerge.

"Central Internment Camp" and News from India

Meanwhile, news from India continued to reach Jung through the letters of Alice Boner, G. Mees, Alfred Würfel, and friends like Boshi and Subramanya Iyer.[19] Jung continued to differ with Boshi and Iyer, and his response to Mees was acerbic when it came to the subject of the holy men.[20] It was news from Würfel that put Jung in touch with India again in a real sense.

With the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, Alfred Würfel's life had taken an abject turn. He was apprehended by the British in Benares on grounds of being a Nazi sympathizer and for sympathizing with Indian nationalism. Würfel, a German national, had in fact been under British surveillance for some time (the Home Department records for the year 1938 bear testimony to this).[21] Banaras Hindu University was a popular hub of nationalist (*swadeshi*) activities during the 1930s, and Würfel had many friends on the campus with nationalist leanings. In September 1939, Würfel was arrested and transferred to an internment camp in India. After spending seven years in Indian camps, Würfel was released in 1946 and deported to Germany, where he was interned again.[22] His hometown, Dresden, had been bombed by the British, and his family had been evacuated to another zone. It was during his prison years in the internment camps of northern India that Würfel wrote to Jung about his plight; Jung wrote back to Würfel thrice, and one of those letters is as follows:

> July 25, 1946
> Alfred Würfel, No. 1014
> Central Internment Camp, Wing 1
> Dehra Dun
> Dear Mr. Würfel,

> I have been quite impressed with the fact that a letter reached me from you. I remember our meeting in Benares very well and I'm shocked to hear that you have been interned for so many years. So many have gone under in this world-cataclysm that I am always astonished to hear of somebody that has survived.
>
> I'm glad to know that my books meant something to you together with the profound wisdom of the Indian Holy Scriptures. When you live in India for a while, it is quite understandable that you undergo the intense influence of the Indian mind. Climate and surroundings persuade you into that truth that has grown upon Indian soil. I got a mere touch of it, but it helped me to understand some essentials of Indian philosophy. In this part of the world however, in the most hellish place, the history of the world has ever been able to concoct, the christian philosophy with its sharp division between good and evil, another variety of truth has developed, a truth that expresses itself in images more meaningful to the western mind than anything else. As anything else, even truth has its geographical limitations.
>
> Hoping that your time of trial and affliction will soon come to an end,
> I remain,
> yours sincerely,
> C. G. Jung[23]

Thus Jung had expressed yet again that the geographical and cultural environment of an individual was intrinsic to his psychic wellbeing. He said that as a Westerner he found that life in Europe was "hellish," surrounded by the dismal realities of war and governed by the narrow Christian ideals of good and evil, but psychologically, it was important to be rooted in one's culture whatever its drawbacks. The elusive trail of the Orient produced exciting adventures of the mind and spirit but brought along with it unforeseen trials and tribulations. Jung had seen the tragic outcome of the lives of Wilhelm and Zimmer. He had also seen how the Second World War had affected the lives of his Jewish colleagues and friends.[24] Würfel's news made him sad, because even Germans in India had not been spared from the

brutality of war. He said nothing about British tyranny in India, knowing full well that all correspondence during the war years would be screened by the British; perhaps he had no more words left to console Würfel.[25] During his journey to India, Jung had gathered not just a few essentials of Indian philosophy, but also insights about the whole Eastern philosophical attitude. He had traveled through the rugged terrains of the subcontinent, weathered the tropical climate, and seen how the geography and culture of India induced its philosophical mindset. It had given him a firm understanding of how culture was closely linked to psychology and hence his comment to Würfel on "truth that has grown on Indian soil." With time, he had become reconciled to the fate of Westerners whose lives had been consumed by their zeal for the Orient—it was a destiny that would brook no human intervention, Jung himself said once.

Although Würfel succeeded in making his way back to India after his release, Jung's links with him ended here.[26] Gradually Jung's ties with Boshi and Subramanya Iyer, and all others from India, whom he had known since the 1930s, also faded. It was not the friendly feelings that dwindled finally, but the desires and fantasies that had hoisted those friendships in the first place, the historical momentum that had brought the East and West together, and the curious and unexpected ways in which Jung's path had crossed India's. All this changed with the passing of that decade and after his return from the journey in 1938.

Indra Sen—"Does Jungian Psychology Not Need a Jungian Yoga?"

Even as Jung wrote one of his last letters to Würfel in 1946, Indra Sen, who had met Jung in Calcutta during the Science Congress of 1938, gave his first address as the president of the psychology section of the Thirty-third Indian Science Congress, in Bangalore. His talk was titled "The Urge for Wholeness."[27]

Indra Sen had reached the Sri Aurobindo ashram in 1946.[28] It was not a sudden impulse that had brought him to Pondicherry from the secure confines of Delhi University. Prof. Sen had been in search of a spiritual credo, one that would successfully integrate Indian philosophy with Western psychology. The psychology of Jung and the philosophy of Hegel had inspired him, but

the quest for a spiritual school rooted in Indian ethos that would incorporate the practical notions of psychology continued to occupy his mind. This led him to Pondicherry to explore Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. Sen found that the "structure" of psychology in Aurobindo's writings corresponded with his ideas. When he met Jung in 1938, Indra Sen was in the midst of his search, but by 1946 he had founded a new school of thought called integral psychology in Pondicherry.[29]

Indra Sen's presidential address in 1946 was a public declaration of his views on the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo and integral psychology. His premise was that the urge for wholeness was not just the basic force of human nature, but an aspect of organic evolution as well.[30] He stated that attaining higher spiritual consciousness was possible through introspection and other yogic practices, and that Aurobindo's concept of psychic consciousness came closest to this principle. This concept of the consciousness was different from the chaotic human consciousness described in Western psychology. He stated that the Indian concept of psychic consciousness was a verifiable fact, whose study could help understand the anomalies of human nature. Indra Sen's objective was to highlight Yoga as a central tenet for attaining psychic wholeness. He briefed the audience that such an experiment was already being carried out by a few dedicated individuals in Pondicherry.

Being well acquainted with both Eastern and Western philosophy and psychology, Sen was not constrained by narrow, dogmatic views and a specialist orientation like Surendranath Dasgupta. While he conceded that the scientific veracity of Yoga psychology was contested by mainstream psychologists, it was a fact, he said, that the vast body of mystic and Yogic literature in India had successfully documented experiences where a higher consciousness had been attained by individuals.[31] His presidential address was a departure from the mainstream scientific psychology because spiritual doctrines were not part of psychology discussions at the Indian Science Congress.[32] In 1946, when Sen took over as president, he deviated from an established convention. Not only did he quote freely from Jung's works during his talk, he steered the whole deliberation toward the theme of the spiritual goals of psychology:

> Among modern western psychologists practically all the credit goes to Professor C. G. Jung for the perception that this vast religious and mystic literature contains invaluable psychological facts and for having conducted and organized studies of the same. The *Eranos*

> *Jahrbucher*, published regularly since 1933, contains beautiful studies by him and others on the subjects of meditation, contemplation, symbolism, growth of psychic life or the process of individuation. . . .
>
> Jung's own studies of human personality constitute most daring adventures in the field of psychology. His methods are empirical. Word association tests, which is his creation, constitute a new method in psychology for the study of personality-difficulties. Further he has collected dreams and interpreted them and studied folk-lore and mythologies and sought to determine the general trends of the human psyche.[33]

Sen gave credence to Jung's idea of psychic opposites—the conscious and unconscious, ego and shadow, and anima and animus, which explained the idea of the psychic center (Self). He stated that Jung explored the concept of the psychic center through the mandala symbolism. He made a comparative analysis of Freud's and Jung's psychologies in the course of his talk. Sen, not only drew from Jung's ideas when he affirmed that the goal of psychology was the attainment of wholeness, but he went a step further by proposing that the principles and practices of Indian Yoga offer a route toward attaining this psychological goal.

Like Dasgupta, Sen believed in the supremacy of Yoga over Western psychological schools. He argued this not by dismissing other schools of thought but by analyzing them, even taking into account the views of his contemporaries, Girindrasekhar Bose and S. C. Mitra on the subject.[34] The most notable feature of Sen's address was his debate on various schools of psychology. He stated that Bose's principle of unity behind the "opposite wishes" theory was essentially a unification principle, which Freud never recognized but Jung did, when he discovered the psychic center (Self).

Thus, liberal references to Jung's psychology marked the thirty-third presidential address of Indra Sen. In a curious synchronicity of events, Jung's ideas were finally presented at an Indian Science Congress gathering, where some years back they had been debarred from discussion on grounds that they were philosophical.

Jung himself had no inkling of these developments in India or of Sen's work at Sri Aurobindo Ashram.[35] Sen did not keep up any personal contact with Jung following his Calcutta encounter but continued to follow his work closely from Pondicherry. His contributions in the ashram journals corroborate the fact that he kept himself abreast of Jung's writings.[36] In the 1950s, Sen taught an upper-level course on integral psychology, of which Jung's ideas formed a crucial part. Although he had stated that no modern

psychologist had established the concept of a psychic center as authoritatively as Jung, Sen believed that Jung had failed to comprehend the Indian idea of the superconscious and also failed to devise a way through which psychic wholeness could be achieved.[37]

> The mixed-up position, regarding the "inner voice" and overall make-up of personality, is really due to Jung's inability at this stage to distinguish between the conscious and superconscious and their opposite kinds of contributions to personality. His identification of the different elements of personality is beautiful . . . However, Integral Psychology, through its steady and detailed inner explorations, has achieved clarities on personality, its various domains and their workings. This could be a useful contribution to Jungian thought and practice. Integral Psychology appreciates the general findings of Jungian psychology. But it asks: "How are these findings going to be put into practice?" Integral Psychology has an Integral Yoga for its actualization. Does Jungian psychology not need a Jungian Yoga?[38]

In stating this, Indra Sen reintroduced the dialectic that was extant between Jung and Indian philosophy and, like many others before him, was unable to appreciate the efficacy of Jung's psychological principles. It is quite possible that Sen's views were constrained by his inadequate knowledge and experience of Jung's therapeutic methods, which involved techniques of introspection and self-inquiry that were effective in guiding an individual to a higher consciousness of the self. Jung's methods were distinct from the Yogic practices of the East. Since Jung's psychological goals of individuation do not profess the attainment of *samadhi* or superconsciousness, it was perhaps difficult for Prof. Sen to appreciate the spiritual underpinnings of Jungian therapy. Years back, Boshi Sen had interpreted Jung's method of analytical therapy as a process by which every "disciple and patient of Jung's had to recount their dreams to him every morning," which had seemed to Boshi a redundant and meaningless exercise of engaging with the psyche.[39] Although Prof. Sen was far more informed than Boshi on the nuances of analytical psychology, he had no practical or direct experience of Jungian therapy. He failed to recognize that enhancement of consciousness through analysis is a valuable psychological goal that Jung spoke of with respect to an individual's inner development. In fact, Jung's empirical psychology was rooted in his analytical experience, and Jung was insistent in stating that his psychology was based on practice, different from the philosophy of the East. Although Indra Sen followed Jung's writings meticulously until the very end, he remained somewhat unapprised about the usefulness of Jungian psychotherapy.[40] Without being convinced of the significance of Jung's

therapeutic methods, Sen could gauge the efficacy of Jung's ideas only partially, through an interpretation of his writings and through the comparative yardstick of Yoga philosophy. In truth, the methods and goals of analytical psychology and Yoga philosophy are not the same, even if there are notional semblances between the two fields. From this position, it was not unusual for Prof. Sen to state that India had a psychology and practical philosophy that could well accommodate the thoughts of Freud, Jung, Adler, and others and was therefore unique in comparison with the West.[41] Whatever his view on the supremacy of Yoga philosophy, Sen's exhaustive reading of Jung's works and extensive commentaries on Jung's psychological conceptions bear testimony to the fact that analytical psychology played a significant and decisive role in shaping his thoughts on integral psychology.[42]

Like the solitary interview with Jung that Sen recorded in Calcutta, the contents of which he would never disclose, Jung's influence on Sen remained obscure and indefinite. Among his contemporaries in the East, Sen came closest to recognizing the merits of Jung's psychological ideas, but Jung's and Sen's worlds never came close.Jung's distancing himself from India after the journey and Sen's own work at Pondicherry, devoted to developing a school of psychology rooted in Indian tradition, kept them preoccupied—neither felt the need to pursue their association any further.

Freud—"No Prophet, but . . . a Prophetic Figure"

For several years after his departure, Jung's links with India remained hazy. While he continued to write to Indians intermittently, the deepest and most significant ties with India had waned. In 1938, a letter from Girindrasekhar Bose reached him, but Jung apparently did not reply to Bose.[43] This was unusual, because Jung was a prolific letter writer, an observation borne out by the voluminous correspondence that has been published so far, and he responded to people from all over the world, including India. For all practical purposes, Jung's relations with Indian psychologists from the academic fraternity of Calcutta had been ruined after the events of the Indian Science Congress of 1938. He did not look forward to conversing with any of them whatever Bose's later inclinations may have been. Freud's death in September 1939 did nothing to change Jung's stance, and he remained steadfastly withdrawn from Indian psychologists for years afterward.

For Freud, however, Jung reserved his response until the occasion arose for him to write a memorial essay on Freud's death, at which time he wrote "In Memory of Sigmund Freud," a blistering critique of Freud's psychology and worldview.[44] Between the years 1929 and 1932, Jung had addressed his differences with Freud through his writings, but evidently these had done little to prevent the misinformation and propaganda that had spread about their relationship in Calcutta.[45] On Freud's demise, Jung felt that their differences should be spelled out openly, even though there was nothing he could ever do to resolve this conflict.

> Freud was first and foremost a "nerve specialist" in the strictest sense of this word, and in every respect he always remained one. By training he was no psychiatrist, no psychologist and no philosopher. In philosophy, he lacked even the most rudimentary elements of education. This fact is of importance in understanding Freud's peculiar views, which are distinguished by an apparently total lack of any philosophical premises. His theories bear the unmistakable stamp of the doctor's consulting room. His constant point of departure is the neurotically degenerate psyche, unfolding its secrets with a mixture of reluctance and ill-concealed enjoyment under the critical eye of the doctor.[46]

Jung conceded that Freud's seminal investigation of dreams was an incredible scientific achievement of the twentieth century, which had heralded the birth of psychoanalysis and had inspired many young psychologists like him to initiate inquiries into the unconscious. In this, he acknowledged that Freud had made a sterling contribution to psychology. But "Freud's inadequate training in philosophy and in the history of religion" and his role in fostering a psychology that was guided by the "narrow confines of nineteenth-century scientific materialism" was problematic, argued Jung, as it narrowed his understanding of the psyche.[47] Jung's contention that the psyche was more than a neurotic entity led to a vast difference between his ideas and Freud's, followed by a long history of conflict between them. It was several months after his return from India before Jung finally confronted the bewildering fact of Freud's shadowy presence in the congressional events in Calcutta. Now the journey was over, Freud had passed away, and the East had risen in his consciousness in new and definite ways. A lifetime seemed to have elapsed in a few months. In August 1938, Jung was conferred an honorary doctorate of science by Oxford University. The journey to India, which had come about because of Jung's long history of links with the British, had finally come full circle.

Aurora consurgens—The Light of the Dawn

The decade of the 1940s did not bring anything remarkable from India for Jung. With the start of the 1950s, India resurfaced in new associations in Zürich. Arwind Vasavada had been a student of philosophy and comparative psychology in 1937, when Jung visited Benares.[48] The two had not met then, and it is unlikely that Vasavada was even acquainted with Jung's work at that time. Vasavada completed his doctoral studies under Dr. S. Radhakrishnan at the Banaras Hindu University in 1944 and taught for several years in India before proceeding to Zürich in 1954 to study analytical psychology at the newly founded C. G. Jung Institute. Exactly what spurred his desire to study under Jung is not known, but aside from psychology, Vasavada was also in search of a spiritual teacher (guru). Jung, skeptical of Indian philosophers and holy men after the disagreeable encounters in the past, may not have been an ideal choice for Vasavada's aspirations. The latter fell into an uneasy relation with Jung from the very outset:

> When the first opportunity came my way to meet Jung on arrival in Zürich, this was the first question I put to him after preliminary greetings: "Why did you not speak openly like a guru, when for all purposes you are such?" His answers did not satisfy me. Nearly two years passed away with many inner conflicts in between, which is very usual for a seeker on the path.
>
> Dissatisfaction with Jung on this point increased tremendously, the more so because he had misunderstood me on certain other points. I was on the point of going back home in a state of deep depression in 1956 when a dream came to me which worsened this already bad situation. Then at last Jung called me to Bollingen, where he had retired for the last month or so; I hastened to meet him and clear up the misunderstanding. After an hour's heated discussion we came to deeper understanding when I told him the following dream, recorded on 19 July 1956.
>
> "I am going to J. (an ancient town on the west coast of India whence our family came), and have to change the train at V. railway station (a frontier station between the princely state to which we belong and the British territory). The train for J. comes near the siding, parallel to the train that brought me, and then goes down the platform. I go there to find a place for us (my mother is with me). The train is very crowded.
>
> "Looking for a seat, I come across an open carriage where a man is selling betel nuts (the green leaves we chew after meals; also used in the worship of deity). It is an exhibition carriage. It is not crowded. I wish to place my luggage in it, but the man in the carriage says, 'Don't you see it is meant for exhibition and not for an ordinary traveller?' I am disappointed, but still stand before him and look into his face. He seems to change his mind and asks me if there are many persons with me. I reply that we are only four (actually five). I tell him that I am much concerned about my mother who is old and would die in such a crowd. He allows me to put my luggage into the compartment and I go to bring my mother and companions. I see them coming down the slope of the hill-side."

> The dream now changes: “I find myself in a station waiting-room. Near me is an oval table. Either on this table or in my arms lies a small child like a balloon. It is Dr. Jung. He points towards a wall. There is an iron ring which strikes every moment on the wall and makes a round impression on it, then the wall moves (recedes). Thus one sees a series of round impressions receding as the ring strikes and the wall moves. Dr. Jung says, ‘Like this ring I am making impressions in the past. I am thus in the past and in the future and in the present.’
>
> “I exclaim, ‘This is ancient wisdom you speak. Then why do you contradict yourself so often?’ He replies, ‘This is to bring you to utter despair so that you may seek.’”
>
> Ten years have passed and the interminable struggle raged within me to assimilate both Jung and the wisdom of my heritage. I think I am doing what the child Jung told me to do in the above dream. The meaning of the dream in its personal sense and its meaning for me as an instrument in the hand of the Unknown is still unfolding itself; it may be seen to lie behind or in the context of this paper.[49]

Jung may have been plagued with doubts and misgivings about the philosophical and mystical attitude of the East when he met Vasavada.[50] In the dream, which he had toward the end of his stay in Zürich, Vasavada is on a journey from his ancestral place, a journey that seems to be of immense significance to him. Here, he is able to board a special carriage, which is not crowded, and is able to persuade the man inside it to let his mother and other companions in. That they were an indispensable part of him and his journey is evident from this. Being the foremost Indian to have trained at Zürich and one of the very few who trained at the C. G. Jung Institute, Vasavada’s journey into analytical psychology was much like the special carriage that he boards in his dream. He is able to meet Jung finally in a waiting room (the allusion is to the long wait of two years before Jung finally called him for a meeting). But what he sees is an infant Jung (a homunculus?) who is mouthing ancient words of wisdom. Vasavada exclaims that Jung’s words are like ancient truths and yet he contradicts himself. Jung says that it is to make him seek further.[51] Jung was aware that the word *guru* carried a special connotation in the East. Although Vasavada was keen on calling him so, Jung knew that this would not lead him to work with the unconscious in the way that was necessary for Vasavada. Hence, Jung would not accept Vasavada’s salutation of guru without a commensurate, psychological explanation:

> The light of the Dawn praised by our medieval thinkers as the *Aurora consurgens*, the rising morning light, is awe-inspiring, it fills your heart with joy and admiration or with irritation and fear and even with hatred, according to the nature of whatever it reveals to you.[52]

Jung’s interpretation of the term *guru* points toward an analyst-analysand

relationship which Vasavada would have become well familiar with during his stay in Zürich. The terminology was also inspired from an ancient treatise by the same name attributed to Thomas Aquinas where the problem of alchemical opposites is elaborated upon.[53] It baffled Vasavada that Jung did not accept the title of a guru but tried instead to initiate him into the psychological experience of the self. Jung seemed to dissuade him from immersing himself in philosophical allusions and innuendoes. In his letter to Vasavada, Jung asks him to attend to the call of this world, of the task of confronting opposites, if he wished to gain a true understanding of the meaning of the self. In guiding Vasavada thus, Jung seemed to have symbolically fulfilled the role of a guru and shown Vasavada the *Aurora consurgens* or the light of the dawn. But it took Vasavada a significant struggle over many years to unite Jung's psychological principles with the tenets of Indian philosophy—a struggle that he carried out lifelong, so it seems.

Vasavada also understood in due course that Jung was wedged in a curious paradox between Western empiricism and Eastern spiritualism. Elaborating on this at an informal dinner with friends in 2010, Vasavada reflected that Jung's scientific stance conflicted with his spiritual values.[54] As an empiricist, Jung had challenged religious dogma, but as a spiritualist inquiring into alchemy and religious symbolism, he had been alienated from the mainstream scientific fraternity. Jung had experienced this paradox vividly during his Indian journey, when he was in the midst of a scientific fraternity and when he met Indian philosophers and evangelists on the sidelines of the congress. He had felt alienated in both the groups. Vasavada's coming to Zürich possibly revived those memories, but more important, it channeled an opportunity for both Jung and Vasavada to dialogue on their differing and diverse traditions from an informed standpoint. Vasavada mentioned during this dinner conversation that Jung was infuriated when the former remarked that analytical psychology was a "system," as compared to Eastern philosophy, which was more like a way of life.[55] In a letter to Calvin S. Hall, an American professor of psychology, in 1954, Jung explained the reason behind his displeasure at such careless criticisms.

> The main point with me is that it is difficult having to deal with careless and superficial criticisms . . .

> As I already told you, I object to the term "system." If I had an invented system, I certainly should have constructed better and more philosophical concepts than those I am applying. Take for instance animus and anima. No philosopher in his senses would invent such irrational and clumsy ideas. When things fit together, it is not always matter of a philosophical system; sometimes it is the facts that fit together. Mythological motifs are facts; they never change; only the theories change. There can never be a time which denies the existence of mythological motifs.[56]

Vasavada struggled to find a comfortable relation between Jung's psychology and his own philosophical lineage—his dream and his difficult relations with Jung conveyed the essence of his struggle in his journey. His initiation into Jungian psychology therefore carries an important historical component and the rudiments of a psychological discourse that Jung fostered with India in the early 1950s. Vasavada underwent personal analysis with C. A. Meier and embarked on his creative oeuvre, a translation of the ancient Sanskrit treatise *Tripura Rahasya*.[57] His search for a guru found no success in Zürich, and it was only after he had relocated to Chicago in 1970 to facilitate work at the C. G. Jung Center of Chicago with June Singer that he found friends and teachers more commensurate with his interests and desires.

Finding a guru and a spiritual fold was important for Vasavada, but Jung was not concerned with initiating and administering spiritual communes in the way they happened in India.[58] Jung was more interested in engaging with Vasavada on a psychological plane, deliberating on how the experience of opposites could lead to a higher consciousness of the self.[59] After his induction into Jungian psychology, Vasavada felt, more than before, the need to stay aligned to his Eastern roots. The search was also for an appropriate expression for the psychology he had learned in Zürich and the philosophy of the East that he had inherited. This intellectual inheritance was an inalienable part of him, like his old mother, who he said would die in the crowd if she did not board the carriage and accompany him in his journey. Vasavada attempted to reconcile the duality of East and West in the way that he best thought possible. When he completed his sojourn in Zürich, he felt compelled to write about Jungian psychology from his unique experience and perspective:

> To an Easterner it seems that an analyst can fulfil his therapeutic task successfully only when he crosses the Rubicon and accepts the role of a guru which is coming to him in the natural course of events. From this it also follows naturally that a guru in India can become helpful to the mentally sick only if he accepts the role of a psychotherapist—which he has not so far done. Ever since Jung showed that alchemy was the Western equivalent of Yoga, that

> essentially “alchemical” processes could be observed in patients, and that he used the method of active imagination, the depth psychologies of the West have opened our eyes to the far-reaching value of yogic methods in helping the mentally sick.
>
> My paper’s aim is to show how analytical psychology unconsciously accepts a similar philosophic background to the Vedantic, and how it adopts the method logically following from it. It will be shown that Jung’s experience reveals the difficulty of crossing over to the role of a guru and, further, how this situation, if misunderstood, can impede the progress of analytical psychology and the mission of Jung.[60]

Traveling between continents, Vasavada spoke about analytical psychology, Jung, myths, and individuation, trying to forge a link between the East and West, not always succeeding in his endeavor of bringing the two worlds together. How far he succeeded in assimilating Jung’s conceptions with Eastern philosophy is immaterial actually; the fact is that Vasavada attempted a unique endeavor and left behind impressions of the two worlds and the struggles that he encountered in holding on to these worlds. In doing so he deepened the East-West dialogue and revealed the complexity of his endeavor and the frustrations that he experienced in his journey.[61]

An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung

It is intriguing to note that even though Jung considered his work scientific and made a categorical distinction between the empirical nature of his work and the metaphysical orientation of Indian philosophy, his links with India were mostly channeled through meetings with Indian philosophers and spiritualists. In fact, he had associated himself with Indian psychologists and scientists much less than he had done with Indian philosophers and metaphysicians. The academic foundations of Dasgupta, Indra Sen, and Vasavada were strongly embedded in philosophy.

In the decade of the 1950s, the paths of Arindam Basu and Jung crossed inadvertently.[62] It was not the first time that Basu had seen Jung. He had been an undergraduate student at the University of Calcutta when he first heard Jung’s talk at the Indian Science Congress in 1938. The occasion stood out in his memory.

> Even now I remember his tall figure and distinguished face as he was lecturing to a mixed audience which comprised eminent Indian scientists and philosophers and simple but enthusiastic undergraduates like myself. This mixed character is worth mentioning because I was impressed by Jung’s earnestness as a lecturer and his sincere effort to make his discourse intelligible to all without sacrificing any of the more difficult themes of his own

> psychological system. Though I had to study psychology as one of the subjects in my Philosophy Honours course I was not particularly interested in that subject. However, though the Psychology Paper was designed to give us a grounding in the subject and did not include revolutionary developments like the doctrines of Freud, Jung, Adler, Behaviourism, etc., some of us had heard the names of the eminent western psychologists and systems of psychology. Jung was one of them and his theory of the collective unconscious, in so far as we had learnt of it, intrigued us. So I was interested to hear him lecture and the experience was worth the trouble I had taken in doing so.[63]

Although he had not pursued psychology in his undergraduate or postgraduate studies, Basu had trained in philosophy, and the rudiments of psychology were not alien to him. He had a special interest in Jung's psychology because of the philosophical ideas contained in it.

From 1938 to 1953, Basu's life had undergone significant changes. The unassuming young man from Calcutta had become the Spalding Lecturer in Indian Philosophy and Religion at the Department of Oriental Studies, University of Durham, England.[64] During his long sojourn in England, he attended the International Philosophy Congress at Belgium in the summer of 1953 and was introduced to Madame Aebi (Magdalena Aebi, 1898–1980), a Swiss Kantian philosopher known to Jung. During a friendly conversation, Prof. Basu informed her about his desire to meet Jung and asked whether such a meeting could be arranged. This happened two years later, when he traveled to Zürich at Madame Aebi's suggestion.

> I must have had a lurking subconscious desire to meet him personally and my wife, who had had psychology as a special paper in her M.A. course, was also keen to do so. So I met Madame Aebi. We hoped that there might be a way open for us to meet the great psychologist. Madame Aebi, when she came to learn of our desire, herself said that if we went to Zürich, she who knew Jung personally, would be happy to arrange a meeting.
>
> Two years later Sobharani and I were in Rome to attend the eighth session of the Congress of the International Association of Historians of Religion, where I gave a lecture on Sacral Kingship in Ancient Indian Thought. At the end of the meeting we proceeded to Switzerland with the intention of meeting C. G. Jung.[65]

Prof. Basu hoped to learn more from Jung about the collective unconscious, an idea he had first heard Jung speak on decades earlier in Calcutta. While he did not elaborate on the full particulars of the conversation that took place between them, glimpses of what Jung talked about and Basu's own inquiries into Jung's ideas reveal interesting aspects of the meeting. Being fairly familiar with theoreticians of Indian philosophy by now, Jung made it clear to Basu at the very outset that the contents of the unconscious

were all psychic. Evidently, he wished to distinguish his ideas from the metaphysical and philosophical concepts of Indian philosophy. Further, on Basu's hypothetical poser of what the fate of the collective unconscious would be in case a holocaust were to occur, Jung's response was terse and succinct. Basu reports:

> I had a more important question to ask, which was whether he believed if there was and would be anything abiding if humanity perished after a holocaust, nuclear or otherwise. I remarked that since the racial unconscious was an aspect of the human psyche, if humanity perished, the collective unconscious would also cease to be. Jung's answer was forthright. He said he was not a metaphysician, that he was a doctor interested in the problems of the human psyche and their solution, in the disorders of the human mind and their causes.[66]

Basu soon deduced that Jung's primary concern was in affirming the empirical contents of his work and not in making philosophical conjectures. Jung told him that "psychology as the science of the soul has to define itself to its subject and to guard against overstepping its proper boundaries by metaphysical assertions or other professions of faith."[67] Evidently, Jung's words were prompted by his past experiences of Indian philosophers. Basu took Jung's words too literally. He argued that while Jung was careful not to make any metaphysical claims himself and did not mix the psychological contents of the "inner world" with the spiritual realm, his followers brought in metaphysical terminologies in expounding his psychology.

> The dangerous confusion that can be created by regarding the contents of the "inner world" as spiritual is evident from the writings of some experts on Jung's psychological system. For example, Frieda Fordham in *An Introduction to Jung's Psychology* explains Jung's idea of self thus: "The feeling of godlikeness, of being a superman, which comes through the inflation is an illusion . . . But if the ego can relinquish some of the belief in its omnipotence, a position can be found somewhere between the ego with its hardly-won values and unconsciousness with its vitality and power and a new centre of personality can emerge differing in its nature from the ego-centre. Jung calls this new centre of personality the self." In a footnote the author adds, "The term "self " is not used as in everyday speech but in the Eastern manner, where Atman, Purusha, Brahman has been a familiar psychological concept from time immemorial. In Hindu thought the self is the supreme principle, the supreme oneness of being" . . . What does Frieda Fordham mean by saying that Jung uses the term self "in the Eastern manner"? Are the self of Jung's psychology and the self as conceived in Hindu thought identical? . . . It may be noted that the Jungian self is an archetype. Any discriminating reader with a modicum of knowledge of Hindu thought will see the confusion to which the same word used with completely different significances can lead. Jung himself is careful not to make any metaphysical pronouncements. But his followers are not so discriminating, and the common reader can be easily misguided.[68]

Basu understood from his interaction with Jung in Zürich that the

contents of the unconscious should be treated as psychic. He felt that Jung stuck admirably to his scientific position when he said that the ultimate derivation of an archetype can never be known and that this stands true even for the archetype of God. Basu argued conversely that Jung's psychological and empirical concept of the self could therefore not be construed as spiritual. While he may be right in saying that Jung did not make spiritual assertions in his psychological conceptions, Jung's ideas did carry religious and spiritual connotations. Basu deduced that Jung's statement that he knew about God (and did not need to believe in God) was made in the same empirical vein and that it was possible Jung was affirming the archetype of the God-image rather than the ultimate reality of God, as postulated in Indian philosophy.[69] He said:

> God is the self-existent and self-aware Reality of whom there are many aspects. He is transcendent of and immanent in the world including the psyche, as the world is understood both in Sri Aurobindo's sense and in Jung's. Only one of the two aspects, to wit, the transcendent, cannot be affirmed as the nature of the Reality. But the important point is that even as such it is not an archetype in the mind of man. And without faith in such a Reality there neither is nor can be any genuine religion and spirituality.[70]

Basu acknowledged the psychological basis of Jung's work but remained unconvinced about his spiritual and religious beliefs. Jung's differentiation between the empirical tenets of psychology and the metaphysical facets of Indian philosophy led Basu to doubt the veracity of Jung's spiritual beliefs. Jung's vast repertoire of writings on Western and Eastern religion, in which he has deliberated at length about the interfaces between psychology, religion, and spirituality, may not have convinced Basu fully about Jung's views. Jung studied Indian religious symbols and referred to them in his writings, but these interpolations were viewed by Indian philosophers in a philosophical or metaphysical way. Hence, the gap between Jung and Indian philosophy remained insurmountable till the end.[71]

In all probability, Basu's personal link with Jung ended with that meeting in Zürich. Jung's words, written to an Indian philosopher living in Europe in 1956, spelled out his stance:

> My conceptions are empirical and not at all speculative. If you understand them from a philosophical standpoint you go completely astray, since they are not rational but mere names of groups of irrational phenomena . . .
>
> My psychology deals with the modern man in Europe, who is practically beyond the belief in philosophical postulates. They convey nothing to him any more. Whereas you are still a

> believer in orthodox philosophy; thus you can be compared to a staunch Christian . . . He believes in postulates. It is quite obvious that such a man would neither have any use for a psychology of the unconscious nor would he understand such a psychology at all . . .
>
> The Christian, f.i., will call the self Christ and will not understand why I call the central symbol "self." He will not see why we need to know about the unconscious from A to Z, exactly like the Indian way. He is like you in possession of the Truth, while we psychologists are merely in search of something like the truth and our only source of information is the unconscious and its mythological products like archetypes, etc. We have no traditional beliefs or philosophical postulates.[72]

"Collaboration with the Indian Mind"

The 1950s would have been uneventful for Jung with regard to India if these encounters in Zürich had not taken place. Jung hoped that a substantive dialogue and a full-bodied deliberation between the East and West would materialize in the course of time.[73] He was disappointed, of course, that this did not happen in the way he desired, but he continued to be optimistic. In 1950 a new link opened up when Jung met Dr. Samiran Banerji, an Indian physician trained in psychology and an empiricist like himself.[74] Dr. Banerji's full particulars are unknown, and we do not know the exact context in which he met Jung.[75] It is certain that he was a member of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society in the year 1948 as his name is seen in the society's journal *Samiksha*.[76]

Banerji's name is also found in the *International Psychoanalytic Journal* (founded by Ernest Jones), although the exact nature of associations between him and Jones are unclear. The Indian Psychotherapeutical Society, of which Banerji was honorary secretary, does not seem to have survived long, for no extant public records of the society could be traced in India. The particulars of Jung's associations with the society are unknown, and Banerji's own links with Bose and other Indian psychoanalytical groups are untraceable.

This indefinite background notwithstanding, it is certain that Jung maintained some contact with Banerji between 1950 and 1955. Jung wrote a preface for a commemorative volume of the Indian Psychotherapeutical Society's journal, *Psychotherapy*, dedicated to Jung. Banerji penned an article on Jung for this volume.[77] After this, little is known about Jung's links with Banerji or the Indian Psychotherapeutical Society. Jung's preface to the Indian journal constitutes his last known formal link with India.

> India with her highly differentiated spiritual culture enjoys certain advantages over the European mind, inasmuch as the latter, owing to its origin in ancient Greek culture, is more handicapped by its dependence upon the sensory aspects of the external world. We expect of India and her spiritual attitude a unique contribution—an introspection originating in a different point of view which would compensate the one-sidedness of the European outlook. We look forward hopefully to a collaboration with the Indian mind, knowing that the mystery of the psyche can be understood only when approached from opposite sides.[78]

Jung's final musings about the East were laden with hope—he remained in anticipation of the as yet undiscovered understanding between the West and the East and an as yet unrealized psychology that would incorporate the spiritual attitude of the East and the dynamic Western scientific spirit. Jung's wish that a dialogue between the two emerge may not have happened in his lifetime in the way he perhaps envisaged it, but that a dialogue had been pursued in unique ways through the exchanges of Dasgupta, Sen, Vasavada, Basu, and Banerji cannot be denied. Those interactions had been vigorous, even if they did not produce a closer understanding of the scientific and philosophical positions of one another. The final message on Jung in India, marking the end of his momentous relationship with the subcontinent, came not from an Indian but from Miguel Serrano, an expat South American based in India, who penned an article when Jung passed away in 1961.[79]

> It's six in the morning, 8 June. I open the doors to my room in New Delhi—doors which open to a small white terrace, already fulgurating with sunlight. The tremendous June heat starts early in the day. I am partially naked and in a moment I will begin my yogic exercises of sun adoration, "Suryanamaskar." The trees' incredible verdure, even in this weather, and the birdsong of infinity, greet me. A servant, who is from around these parts, approaches me with that measured step of the Indians and says to me, "Salam, Sahib." It's his respectful greeting. He hands me a piece of paper. It's a telegram. I open it without hurry, almost absent-mindedly. I see that it comes from Zürich and it surprises me that this is the case. I begin reading and I am perplexed. The telegram reads as follows: "Dr. Jung died peacefully yesterday at noon. Best wishes." It is signed by Beiley [*sic*] and Jaffe: the young lady that kept him company, who walked him home—an extraordinary woman—; and his private secretary, a Swiss citizen.
>
> A great sadness immobilises me right there—my eyes are moist, perhaps because of the intense sun, or perhaps not. It was so recently that I had been with Dr. Jung, at his house in Küsnacht, next to Lake Zürich. I might have been the last foreign friend to see him. The news has hit me in the depths of my soul. I have had the enormous fortune of having been prefaced by Jung—that, having been the first and last time that he penned a preface for a purely literary work.
>
> The remembrance flies, I see its image, it's on my mind. So very recently I arrived at his house, amid a fine rain. Jung's house is in the outskirts of Zürich, in Küsnacht. I was received by Ms. Beiley, who invited me into a small living room, where she served us tea.

> We talked about Dr. Jung. She told that me he had not been well during the last few days, feeling very tired as a result of working intensively on a 80-page essay he had written in longhand, as usual, directly in English for an American publication, and due to appear soon with the title "Man and His Myths." Ms. Beiley is very worried, as Jung has said to her, "I wish to go, but you tie me here."
>
> Jung has been unwell, it is true, but he's afflicted by no illness. That day he had felt better and even got up to receive me. Ms. Beiley asks that we go upstairs, but also that I don't stay long so as not to tire him. We entered his study. And there was Jung, on a chair, next to the window facing the lake. He's wearing a Japanese robe that makes him look like a Zen Buddhist monk, an old samurai, or a magus from earlier times. He is haloed by a crepuscular light, and he is surrounded by alchemical engravings and a great painting of the Hindu god Shiva on the summit of Mount Kailash.[80]

E. A. Bennet wrote that Jung's writing desk had a beautiful collection of twenty-one figures, representing all the states in India—the figurines depicted the different costumes of the people of these states, their religions, and so forth. On the mantelpiece nearby, Jung had placed an ivory collection of the ten avatars of Vishnu (*Dasavataram*). Images of Buddha and other Indian curios filled his study.[81]

The fact remains that very few in India understood the significance of the dialogue that Jung wished to foster with the East. The journey had altered Jung's own perceptions about India, but it did not have a corresponding impact on Indians in the subcontinent. After three decades of exchanges with various Indian scholars, Jung was certain that the philosophical approach of India was not similar to his psychology, and unless the relative merits of both disciplines were understood and assimilated, a fruitful dialogue would not emerge with the East. He remained hopeful that the introspective attitude of the East would yield a fuller understanding of the psyche, complementing the one-sided, objective psychology of the West, and that the two streams would one day reach a plane of shared understanding and affinity.

NOTES

[1] Dasgupta was not listed as a member of the Indian Science Congress Association as he was a philosopher and he would not have attended the scientific sessions. Dasgupta and Jung would have met at one of the formal dinner gatherings of the University of Calcutta or at the social gatherings of the Science Congress events.

[2] Dasgupta's daughter, Maitreyi Devi, was an acclaimed writer, poetess,

social worker, protégé of Rabindranath Tagore, and friend of Mircea Eliade. She wrote at length about her father and their life in Calcutta and would have been present at the formal dinners at the university and the Science Congress because her husband, Manomohan Sen, a quinologist employed by the British government, was listed as a full session member of the Science Congress. For the full story of Dasgupta's visit to Switzerland in 1939, see Claudia Guggenbühl, *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta: The History of Their Encounter* (Heidelberg: SavifaDok, 2008), pp. 219–223; accessed at http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/savifadok/volltexte/2008/149/.

[3] Jung and Dasgupta's correspondence can be found in the Jung archives at ETH Zürich.

[4] Jung's *Psychology and Religion* had just been published in 1938, so this might have been the book he sent.

[5] Guggenbühl writes: "According to the librarian of the Psychological Club, Surendranath Dasgupta held a lecture on May 3rd, 1939, at Gemeindestrasse 27." *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta*, p. 216.

[6] Dasgupta had asked whether Jung could suggest a medical expert whom Dasgupta could consult for his blood pressure, and Jung agreed to arrange an appointment. *Ibid*., p. 226.

[7] According to Guggenbühl, there is no copy of this lecture at the Club library, but she thinks it is likely that Dasgupta used part of it in his long essay entitled "An Interpretation of the Yoga Theory of the Relation of Mind and Body" in *Philosophical Essays* (Calcutta, 1941; repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990). *Ibid*., p. 216.

[8] Maitreyi Devi's novel *Na Hanyate* contains a description of Surendranath Dasgupta's life and personality that brings to light these characteristics. Maitreyi Devi, *Na Hanyate* [*It Does Not Die*] (Calcutta: P. Lal, 1976; reprinted Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[9] *Sam**kyha* is one of the ancient schools of Hindu philosophy that advocates the dualism of reality, symbolized by Purusha and Prakriti (matter and consciousness) and the interaction between them.

[10] See Guggenbühl, *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta*, p. 80.

[11] According to Dasgupta, Plato, Aristotle, and Kant had failed to give a satisfactory answer on the relation between the two spheres of matter and form, which in Indian philosophy are symbolized in Purusha and Prakriti. Guggenbühl notes that according to Dasgupta European philosophy was a

theoretic science, not a science of practice, as compared to Indian philosophy. He was disenchanted with the absolutism of European philosophy after his stint at Cambridge. *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 48.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 124.

[13] Ann Conrad Lammers, ed., *The Jung-Kirsch Letters: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and James Kirsch* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 33.

[14] In the 1940s, after his return from India, Jung distanced himself from lay analyst Toni Fanny Sussmann, who had studied with him and had a great interest in combining Eastern ideas with Jung's psychology. See Lammers, *The Jung-Kirsch Letters*, p. 6.

[15] C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1: 1906–1950*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 255.

[16] "The theory that mental states can be arrested by our efforts is an extremely original one, and up till now we know of no country other than India where such a possibility was ever conceived. In an interview that I had with the famous psychologist Dr. Sigmund Freud, he expressed great surprise, in the course of a long discussion, that such a thing should be conceived possible, but he admitted that this experiment had always been made and that therefore it would be hazardous to deny its possibility." Guggenbühl, *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta*, p. 124.

[17] Dasgupta did not mention his lecture at the Psychology Club of Zürich in his letters to his wife, although he gave a description of his other activities during that tour.

[18] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 345–346.

[19]Jung's unpublished correspondence at ETH Zürich has several letters from Boner, Würfel, and Mees written to Jung in 1938–39.

[20] See Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, pp. 477–479; and chapter 6 (pp. 000).

[21] Records of the Home Department, 1937–38 (New Delhi: National Archives of India).

[22] Alfred Würfel gives a graphic account of his imprisonment and years under British detention in *India, My Karma: Alfred Würfel Remembers* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2004), pp. 46–60.

[23] Würfel, *India, My Karma*, pp. 118–119.

[24] See Lammers, *The Jung-Kirsch Letters*, for an intimate account of James Kirsch's life during the war years. In fact, in the mid-1930s, Jung had himself become embroiled in controversies about his anti-Semitic views and rumors of him being a Nazi sympathizer. He was therefore cautious about broaching the topic of Germany, Hitler, and the war in his letter to Würfel. Jung responded to the cataclysmic events of Hitler's rule and the Second World War through his writings; see "Wotan" (1936), "After the Catastrophe" (1945), "The Fight with the Shadow" (1946), and "Epilogue to *Essays on Contemporary Events*" (1946), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964).

[25] After his Indian journey, Jung became well acquainted with the excesses of British imperialism. It is not easy to discern whether this changed his perceptions about the British.

[26] Würfel was determined to return to India after his internment. He worked at the German Consulate in India for many years after his return. At the time of researching this book, Würfel was too ill to meet anyone. He died in 2011 at the age of one hundred.

[27] Indra Sen, "The Urge for Wholeness," *Report of the Thirty-third Indian Science Congress, Bangalore* (Calcutta: Indian Science Congress Association, 1946), pp. 1–24.

[28] The biographical information on Sen has been taken from the writings of Aster Patel, Indra Sen's daughter, who is based at Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Dr. Patel is the director of the Centre for Indian Studies, Auroville and a member of the Governing Board, Auroville Foundation. See Aster Patel, *The Presence of Dr. Indra Senji* (Pondicherry: SABDA, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 2003), pp. 9–12.

[29] Dr. Patel writes that Sri Aurobindo accepted the term *integral psychology*, as proposed by Indra Sen, in 1942. See Patel, *The Presence of Dr. Indra Senji*. Indra Sen dedicated his energies in developing this proposal under Sri Aurobindo's guidance. The development of integral psychology as a school of psychology based on Sri Aurobindo's ideas was furthered by many other scholars at Pondicherry apart from Indra Sen.

[30] "Now we are going to consider another answer here, which the present writer has developed from a consideration of the general facts of evolution, yogic discipline and the form of consciousness reached by it, and the

contemporary schools of psychology. According to this answer of ours a tendency to a progressive organization, an urge for wholeness, is the really basic trend of not only human nature but of organic evolution as such." Sen, "The Urge for Wholeness," p. 2.

[31] "Among other evidences of the fact of psychic consciousness, besides direct experience through an intensive inner discipline, is the vast literature of yoga and of mystic and religious life. This literature has been as yet very little worked out by psychologists . . . Now this literature bears out that a fulfilled consciousness is a reality beyond doubt. While to modern European life, the fact of an aggressive struggling consciousness working by a strained activity is an intimate fact, to the traditional Indian mind, a fulfilled spontaneously operative consciousness is a familiar phenomenon. A proper characterization of this consciousness is really our task. But as to the fact of such a consciousness the writer must contend that there is a wide evidence." *Ibid*., pp. 6–7.

[32] This is borne out by the fact that Jungian scholar Arwind Vasavada spoke of Jung's psychology at the Indian Philosophical Congress of 1964 and not at the psychology session of the Indian Science Congress. See A. V. Vasavada, "The Place of Psychology in Philosophy," *Thirty-eighth Session of Indian Philosophical Congress Report* (Delhi: Indian Philosophical Congress, 1964).

[33] Sen, "The Urge for Wholeness," p. 7.

[34] *Ibid*., pp. 12–17.

[35] That Jung and Sen shared no correspondence between them during the years 1937–1939 has been verified by ETH Zürich and corroborated by Aster Patel, who said that her father never wrote to Jung (personal communication).

[36] See Indra Sen, *Integral Psychology: The Psychological System of Sri Aurobindo* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education, 1986).

[37] Sen's view was that Jung failed to recognize superconsciousness (*samadhi*) as a higher form of consciousness. He did not agree with Jung that *samadhi* was a state of unconsciousness. According to Sen, the highest form of consciousness is the superconsciousness that can be attained through Yogic discipline. He said that people who attained that state display in their ordinary life a composure and integration of life much higher than the average.

[38] Indra Sen, "Personality, Its Development and 'The Inner Voice': A Study in Jung. What Integral Psychology Can Contribute," *Further Studies in Integral Psychology*, 2 parts, vol. 39, no. 3 (March 1986): 158–161.

[39] Girish N. Mehra, *"Nearer Heaven than Earth": The Life and Times of Boshi Sen and Gertrude Emerson Sen* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2007), p. 400.

[40] *A Study of Jungian Analysis* (edited by Murray Stein) and Jung's memoirs and views on psychotherapy, which Sen read, may have helped him overcome this gap to some extent. That he read these volumes is known from his writings and references to Jung. See Murray Stein, ed., *A Study of Jungian Analysis* (Chicago: Open Court, 1982); and C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, edited by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Vintage Books, 1989). For other references to Indra Sen's writings on Jung, see "Jung's Relevance to India," *Mother India*, vol. 40, nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publications, 1986-1987).

[41] Sen, "The Urge for Wholeness," p. 14.

[42] Indra Sen's writings on integral psychology can be found in many journals and books of Sri Aurobindo Ashram. See Indra Sen, *The Psychological System of Sri Aurobindo* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publications Department, 1999).

[43] The letter from Bose is on file at the Jung archives at ETH Zürich, along with correspondence between Jung and other Indians. There is no letter from Jung in response to G. Bose's at ETH Zürich in the year 1938.

[44] C. G. Jung, "In Memory of Sigmund Freud" (1939), in *The Spirit of Man, Art, and Literature*, vol. 15, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966). In this essay, which sheds light on their individual ideologies, Jung said that "Freud was no prophet, but he is a prophetic figure."

[45] See C. G. Jung, *Freud and Psychoanalysis*, vol. 4, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961); and "Sigmund Freud in His Historical Setting" (1934), in *The Spirit of Man, Art, and Literature*, vol. 15, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966).

[46] Jung, "In Memory of Sigmund Freud," § 61.

[47] *Ibid*., §§ 67 and 70.

[48] For a full profile of Arwind Vasavada and a list of his interviews and

writings, see http://arwindvasavada.webs.com/bio.htm. Vasavada was a student at Banaras Hindu University, where Jung was conferred a degree *honoris causa*. Speaking about the occasion Vasavada mentions that both Jung and Freud visited India in 1938 which is incorrect. See video at http://arwindvasavada.webs.com/apps/videos/videos/show/8256917.

[49] A. V. Vasavada, "Analytical Psychology of C. G. Jung and Indian Wisdom," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 13 (1968)**:** 131–145.

[50] Jung was inspired by the notion of the guru during his meeting with an Indian philosopher in 1930. After his journey of 1938, Jung was unsympathetic toward Indian philosophical epithets like *guru*.

[51] In a letter to Erich Neumann in 1952, Jung gave full vent to his misgivings about Indian mysticism when Neumann asked him to write a foreword to Paramahansa Yogananda's *Autobiography of a Yogi*. See C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2: 1951–1961*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 42–43.

[52] In a letter to Vasavada in 1954, Jung wrote: "Dear friend, Thank you for your kind letter and the beautiful 'salutation' to the perfect Master. In the guru, I perceive, you greet the infinitesimal God whose light becomes visible wherever a man's consciousness even the smallest step forward and beyond one's own horizon." Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, p. 194.

[53] It is pertinent to mention here that in 1957 Jung published a companion volume to *Mysterium Coniunctionis* in German, titled *Aurora Consurgens*, which was an ancient alchemical treatise attributed to Thomas Aquinas. For the English translation of this work, see Marie-Louise von Franz, ed., *"Aurora Consurgens": A Companion Work to C. G. Jung's "Mysterium Coniunctionis"* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

[54] See "Dinner with Vasavada" at http://arwindvasavada.webs.com/apps/videos/videos/show/8256917, where Dr. Vasavada speaks about his interactions with Jung. Vasavada said that Jung went beyond mainstream science, but at the same time he was alienated from the traditional Christian fold.

[55] *Ibid*. During this dinner conversation Vasavada recalled that Jung was very upset when he called analytical psychology a system and said that this reaction on Jung's part was caused by Vasavada's poor English and that his words had been misconstrued by Jung.

[56] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, pp. 191–192.

[57] Jung *Letters, Vol. 2*, p. 194. C. A. Meier, MD, was a Swiss psychiatrist, analytical psychologist, and professor of psychology at ETH Zürich. *Tripura Rahasya*, "The Secret of the Goddess Tripura," is an ancient Sanskrit treatise ascribed to Dattaraya, who was an incarnation of Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma. Dattaraya was a wandering mendicant who found the path to highest salvation. His teachings are written in the form of a discourse, a part of which Vasavada translated from the original Sanskrit and published in 1965. In his work, Vasavada also compared Indian mysticism to Jung's concept of individuation. Michael Fordham penned a brief and inept review of Vasavada's work in 1967; see Michael Fordham, "Tripur´-Rahasya (Jnanakhanda)," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 12 (1967): 82.

[58] In 1935 Boshi Sen had asked Jung why he did not take his patients further after curing them and lead them toward a spiritual path, as did other Indian gurus. Jung had responded that he was a doctor and treated sicknesses and beyond that it was the work of spiritualists. Boshi mentions that Jung called himself a guru, but this could be a misconception on Boshi's part; Jung was critical of organized spiritual evangelism and averse to the appellation "holyman." See Girish N. Mehra, "*Nearer Heaven than Earth": The Life and Times of Boshi Sen and Gertrude Emerson Sen* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2007), p. 399.

[59]Jung wrote a long letter to Vasavada explaining the self and its various connotations: "Although the self is my origin, it is also the goal of my quest. When it was my origin, I did not know myself, and when I did learn about myself, I did not know the self. I have to discover it in my actions, where first it reappears under strange masks." Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, p. 196.

[60] Vasavada, "Analytical Psychology of C. G. Jung and Indian Wisdom," p. 132.

[61] Vasvada's writings can be found at http://arwindvasavada.webs.com/papers.htm.

[62] Arindam Basu, also known as Arabinda Basu, was Aurobindo Professor and head of the Department of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University, a proponent of integral psychology, and a long-term resident of Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Basu wrote an article on Jung in 1993 in *Mother India*. He passed away in Pondicherry on July 3, 2012, at the age of ninety-four.

[63] Arindam Basu, “An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung,” *Mother India* (July-August, 1993), p. 487. The full article can be found in appendix B, “Archival Extracts—Personal Memoirs.”

[64] This position was occupied in the 1930s by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

[65] Basu, “An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung,” p. 487.

[66] *Ibid*., p. 570.

[67] *Ibid*., p. 570.

[68] *Ibid*., p. 570.

[69] In a BBC interview in 1959 with John Freeman, Jung was asked if he believed in God. His response was, “I know. I don’t need to believe. I know.” See C. G. Jung, *C. G. Jung Speaking: Interviews and Encounters* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 428. As a postscript to his article, Basu wrote, “I heard this programme but do not remember Jung claiming direct knowledge of God by experience though he did say that he knew. I think he did not reply how he came by that knowledge. Can it be that he meant by God nothing else but an archetype?” Basu, “An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung,” p. 573.

[70] *Ibid*., pp. 572–573.

[71] Criticism from Subramanya Iyer, G. Mees, the monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, and Boshi Sen all bear evidence to the fact that there was a disinterest and disinclination in India toward Jung’s psychology.

[72] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, pp. 303–304.

[73] “Collaboration with the Indian mind” is a phrase taken from “Preface to an Indian Journal of Psychotherapy” (1955), in *The Symbolic Life*, vol. 18, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 801.

[74] Photographs of visitors to Zürich from the Indian Psychotherapeutical Society on the occasion of Jung’s seventy-fifth birthday include one that is presumably of Dr. Samiran Banerji, who is seen greeting Jung. Jung was gifted with an engraved wooden table by the society on this occasion.

[75] Samiran Banerji worked for some time with Dr. Ronald Sandison, a British psychiatrist who specialized in psychotherapy using LSD and who was influenced by Jung’s work. Sandison mentioned his association with Banerji briefly in *A Century of Psychiatry, Psychotherapy, and Group Analysis: A Search for Integration* (Philadelphia, PA: Jessica Kingsley

Publishers, 2001).

[76] See "Associate Members," *Samiksha, Journal of the Indian Psycho-Analytical Society* 2(3): 261.

[77] Marie-Louise von Franz refers to Banerji's article in *C. G. Jung: His Myth in Our Time* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1998), p. 194.

[78] Jung, "Preface to an Indian Journal of Psychotherapy," p. 801.

[79] Miguel Serrano was a Chilean diplomat; his interview of Jung in January 1961 was the last formal interview of Jung's to be published. See Jung, *C. G. Jung Speaking: Interviews and Encounters*, 462–469; and chapter 2. Serrano was on the verge of leaving India when he spoke to Jung for the last time. Jung wrote a preface to Serrano's book *The Visits of the Queen of Sheba*.

[80] Miguel Serrano, "Last Encounter with Carl Jung," translated by Alex Kurtagic. Internet edition, October 2010, accessed at http://www.counter-currents.com/2010/10/last-encounter-with-carl-jung/. The editor notes that a different English translation appeared in the *Hindustan Times Weekly*, July 16, 1961.

[81] E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the Years 1946–1961* (Zürich: Daimon, 1985), pp. 67–68.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

> When we look at human history, we see only what happens on the surface, and even this is distorted in the faded mirror of tradition. But what has really been happening eludes the inquiring eye of the historian, for the true historical event lies deeply buried, experienced by all and observed by none. It is the most private and most subjective of psychic experiences.
>
> —Carl Jung, "The Meaning of Psychology for Modern Man"

The Road to the East

The history of the East is replete with stories of explorations. Jung was not the first to journey to the East, nor would he have been the last. Jung followed others before him in trailing the eastern route, but his journey was like no other. When travelers of earlier times ventured into faraway Eastern lands which were barely imaginable from the distant shorelines of Europe, little did they envisage that the journeys to the East several centuries later would involve explorations in the numinous realms of the psyche and the spirit. Jung wished to unravel the mystery of the spirit, and his journey epitomized his inner quest:

> Man is naturally an inquirer, not only into matters concerning his immediate present, but into his material and spiritual destiny . . . Exploration is one manifestation of this spirit of inquiry, this desire to adventure into the realm of the incalculable and unknown.[1]

The culture and psyche of the East, whose significance Jung was aware of but whose particulars were not entirely perceptible to him from distant Zürich, propelled his Eastern adventure. Jung knew of the East from his vast

readings on philosophy and culture and from his interactions with oriental scholars in Europe.[2] There were many among his predecessors and contemporaries—such as Arthur Schopenhauer, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Friedrich Max Müller, Richard Wilhelm, Heinrich Zimmer, Wilhelm Hauer, and Hermann Hesse—who had delved into Eastern philosophy from the distant environs of Europe. Jung had followed the trails of those inquiries and gathered a vast repertoire of knowledge from their writings, but he wished to extend his understanding from a psychological perspective. This was the significant difference between Jung's engagement with the East and that of Wilhelm, Zimmer, Hauer, Hesse, and others.

Jung's journey was not a premeditated venture; it came about spontaneously, even as he was discoursing on Eastern philosophy and religion in close-knit gatherings in Europe. It is pertinent to note that for Jung the journey began long before 1937 and ended long after. His scholarly engagement with the East, from the early decades of his career, was a journey of the intellect and spirit, as rich and complex as his actual journey of 1937–1938. Jung continued to engage with India after his return, and so the actual span of his links with India spread over many decades.

Jung's understanding of the East and in particular of India deepened after his journey to India. Jung learned as much about the West as he did about the East from his adventure, but the history of his long association with India and the story of how his insights about the East were shaped has never been brought to light comprehensively. This history has been traced here for the first time, a task that carried its own complexity and challenges. The difficulty arose because of Jung's unique psychological and cultural viewpoints, and also because of the way the journey progressed after a point.

Jung was not an oriental buff seeking spiritual indoctrination in India.[3] He aspired to understand the rudiments of Eastern wisdom and spirituality from the standpoint of a psychologist and from his own religious context—he had no desire to dislodge his cultural and religious moorings in order to embrace the East. This made his journey different from the explorations of many others of his time. It gave it a contentious tone, rendering his outlook toward the East sometimes critical and disparaging. What Jung wished to emphasize was the efficacy of a scientific and empirical psychology that he had employed to assimilate the nuances of Eastern philosophy. He also had to affirm that his Western religious and cultural background was the basis from which he assimilated the East. He reiterated this because, first, his

psychology had been sidelined during his visit in 1937–38, and second, his emphasis about a cultural standpoint of one's own was largely misconstrued as being Eurocentric. Upholding his views on race and culture, Jung had told James Kirsch:

> No one who is a Jew can become a human being without knowing he is a Jew, since this is the basis from which he must reach out toward a higher humanity. This holds true for all nations and races. Nationalism is therefore a conditio sine qua non (indispensable condition)—no matter how objectionable it is—but the individual must not remain stuck in it. On the other hand, insofar as he is a particle of the mass of the people, he must not elevate himself above it either.[4]

Aside from these particulars, the narrative also had to take into account the dialectic that was sparked off by Jung's engagement with Indian philosophers. In the wake of his growing differences with them and the responses he evoked from Indian psychologists at the science congress, Jung's journey turned out to be far different from what he had perhaps anticipated. To add to this, the historical particulars of that period reveal Jung's unfamiliarity with the socio-political environment of India. He felt distanced from contemporary India, and it is fairly certain from the description of the history that Jung did not relate to everything that he encountered. The company of the British scientists did little to reduce his feelings of alienation. While he was taken aback by the disinterest India showed toward his work, he was intrigued by the psyche of the Indian; the imperial British character that he experienced in India was strange and curious. The narrative had to incorporate many of these underlying threads while keeping the broader history in mind, and although these experiences gave Jung a closer understanding of contemporary East, the fact that he left no extended commentary about his subjective experiences and the history behind them made the task of describing them challenging.[5] In the absence of clear archival records and corresponding literature the story of Jung in India was a difficult and enormous undertaking. It was imperative to restore it because a vast cache of historical information had surfaced during the inquiry. The story lets the reader step into Jung's world, but more important, it helps us discover Jung from an Indian standpoint—cultural, historical, and psychological. Jung's road to the East is therefore an amalgam of many journeys, and although it is from a distant era, it is a story with contemporary relevance and significance.

The Outcomes of Jung's Eastern Encounter

Jung's vast readings on the Orient, his enthusiasm in meeting Indians in Zürich, and his deliberations on India at oriental forums demonstrate how he looked forward to a dialogue with the East and sought an inquiry into its ethos. The actual journey was an extension of that inquiry, a nearer and more intimate experience of all that he had garnered through his distant ruminations. In comparison with his high-profile talks at Eranos, the scholarly engagements in Europe, the correspondences with Indian monks, the distinctive contributions that he made in Vedanta journals, the abstract references to India that he made in his writings, and the cordial and highbrow meetings he had with Indians in Zürich, the journey was far more down-to-earth and real. It brought him several bewildering moments and generated some very unusual insights.

First, the idealistic conceptions of the East that he had held in his mind before the journey were dislodged. The spiritual aura of India and the rich symbols of Hinduism that he had been taken with turned out to be not the only reality of the East. The Hindu temple sites unnerved him, and the speculative style of Indian philosophers became irksome for him beyond a certain point. Jung discovered that Tantric Yoga philosophy was not deified in India and that the endless cycle of lives lived by the teeming masses symbolized an ancient psyche, more intuitive in character than rational. He found that this abstract Indian orientation was very different in character from the rational and empirical mind of the West.[6] He also saw that the juxtaposition of colonial rule on an ancient culture had created a peculiar Indian ethos, a highly differentiated culture, distinct from the primitive culture that he had experienced in Africa. Such an India, Jung found, did not view his psychological notions with much regard or enthusiasm.

Living in Europe, Jung had not imagined the colonial character of British India. Nor had he known about the existence of Indian psychology in its contemporary and modern incarnation; his notion of Indian psychology was the symbolic literature of prehistoric times. In the midst of the congressional gathering in India, Jung also found that his scientific stance was distinct from the scientific materialism advocated by British scientists. His illness and subsequent disengagement from the congressional affairs were not just a physical breakdown, but a sign of the emotional and psychological disorientation that he felt in the midst of these happenings. The East struck

him as infinitely alien, and it was this feeling of strangeness that Jung had to contend with from the very onset of his journey. Jung's experience of alienation was significant, for the remoteness that Indians felt about his psychology was commensurate with what Jung himself felt about India in some ways.

And yet, in the midst of this bewildering estrangement, Jung could not deny the vitality of Indian spiritualism, the significance and honor that the British government had bestowed on his work, the regard and fondness that Alice Boner, Alfred Würfel, Boshi and Gertrude Sen, Subramanya Iyer, and many others showed toward him, and all the other encounters that made India an endearing and unforgettable experience for him. Not everything was unexpected and unanticipated about the journey. Jung was accurate in his conjecture that a degree of caution was necessary when one undertook journeys into other cultures.[7] In India he realized this caveat fully, not only during his own illness, but outside it, when he met Europeans gripped by the spirit of the Orient and Indians who he found were captivated by Western scientific ideals. He found that his own feelings of *participation mystique* were ruthlessly decimated when he came into contact with the real India. Instead of drawing him deeper into the Eastern labyrinth, his journey redirected his attention to the concerns of the West. Culture and psyche steered his Eastern sojourn. He saw that the British had not (psychologically) adapted themselves to the environment in India, and this was reflected in their unnatural mannerisms as colonial overlords. He heard of the excesses of British imperialism (from firsthand accounts by Gertrude Sen and Alfred Würfel), but he remained noncommittal about it. He was aware that his journey to India would not have come about had his links with the British not existed and had they not conferred on his work all the necessary honors and acknowledgments. The complex web of culture, polity, science, race, and psyche that the journey evoked mystified Jung. His illness mirrored his inner turmoil of being pulled into a vortex of paradoxical emotions and experiences.

Despite these dilemmas, Jung was alive and open to new experiences in the subcontinent. The spiritual awakening at a Buddhist temple site, the splendor of Islamic architecture, the emotions he felt on witnessing ancient Hindu dances, the idea of reality that he experienced in them, the impressive Hindu temple gateways, the sight of the Himalayas, the conversations he had with the attendant priests, and many such experiences gave Jung an insight

into India's rich spiritual and cultural legacy and made him conclude that the passage to India had been worthwhile on the whole. Even though he could not readily identify with everything, the differences he felt with India sharpened his feelings about his own culture. Jung came to respect his Western scientific stance and cultural roots more after his Indian intermezzo. The tenets of his empirical work, which did not strike him as anything unique in the Western milieu where he worked, turned out to be of extraordinary importance when placed alongside the theoretical notions of Indian philosophy. In Jung's view, the scientific and empirical mind-set of the West was inherently opposed to the intuitive and idealistic attitude of the East. The fields of Western psychology and Indian philosophy were therefore disparate, and this realization brought for Jung positive affirmation of his work and a renewed regard for his empirical values.[8] He emphasized after the journey that he was an empiricist and not a metaphysician or philosopher. Consequently, Jung learned to defend his scientific position whenever he was confronted by philosophers and theologians from other parts of the world. This was a direct and unambiguous outcome of his Indian journey.

Jung also gained within himself a new acceptance of his religious roots after the journey. He had witnessed the oriental zeal in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s among his friends and colleagues, but in India, meeting cultural and spiritual aficionados like Würfel, Boner, Gualthernus Mees, and Boshi Sen, he was certain that the world of the East was not something that he could identify with intrinsically. Hence his words to Alfred Würfel in 1946:

> In this part of the world however, in the most hellish place, the history of the world has ever been able to concoct, the christian philosophy with its sharp division between good and evil, another variety of truth has developed, a truth that expresses itself in images more meaningful to the western mind than anything else. As anything else, even truth has its geographical limitations.[9]

Jung reaffirmed his national and cultural standpoint implicitly when he wrote to Würfel that truth has its geographical limitations. The cultural and religious ethos of an individual was an inalienable part of his or her psyche, he felt. Again, it was not that Jung had been awakened to the truths of Christian philosophy for the first time. He had been engrossed in studying Gnostic texts and had deliberated at length on religion before journeying to India. Jung was certain of his Christian orientation; the Indian journey possibly intensified this realization because he witnessed the religious and spiritual atmosphere of India in depth and knew that as a Westerner his

orientation was different from an Indian's.[10] To Erich Neumann he wrote:

> God is always specific and always locally valid, otherwise he would be ineffectual. The Western God-image is the valid one for me, whether I assent to it intellectually or not . . . There is no place for Gnosis or the Midrashim in this image, for there is nothing of them in it. Only my intellect has anything to do with purusha-atman or Tao, but not my living thraldom. This is local, barbaric, infantile, and abysmally unscientific.[11]

Jung's religious orientation needs to be seen in the context of his complex and intricate notions about Christianity, which J. J. Clarke elaborates in his introductory essay in *Jung on the East*. Clarke says:

> It is true that he was often at pains to identify himself with the Christian tradition, and there is no doubt that his attitude towards the religion of his upbringing and his culture was far from straightforward. Though Christ represented for him a symbol of the individuation process of the self, it was a symbol that left him unsatisfied, one from which he himself did not appear to derive much spiritual fulfilment. Moreover, Christian theology often appeared to him as far too rationalistic, and as lacking in the capacity to reach the deepest levels of the human psyche . . . Christ, though a symbol of the self, did not represent for him a fully fleshed-out image of wholeness or a symbol of complete psychic integration, for the Christ-image always carried with it a sense of otherworldliness which led to a discounting of embodied experience as well as of the positive role of evil in human life.[12]

While he was dissatisfied by established Christian ideals, in India Jung also witnessed the excesses of Hindu evangelism. Coming out of his illness and ruminating on his dream, Jung was able to extricate himself from the fanfare surrounding Indian holy men.[13] Jung's disapprobation of holy men has to be understood in the context of the unbridled oriental wave that had swamped the West during the early decades of 1900s. Jung was critical of the West's blind pursuit of the East. However, this did not stop him from delving deep into the spiritual and religious philosophy of India. His Christian standpoint was not overturned by his assimilation of Eastern religious and philosophical ideas. In the proximity of Hindu, Islamic, and Buddhist monuments, his spiritual beliefs were awakened and illumined.[14]

Jung's discovery that the East was radically different from the West triggered a complex play of emotions in him, of "mutual attraction and repulsion."[15] His psychological turmoil was fueled by conflicting feelings about India. It was his retreat into a colonial hospital and the revelation of a significant dream that eventually pulled him out of this vortex, offered him space for some real reflection, and reoriented his attitude toward the journey. It was only after this hiatus that Jung could return to the journey with

renewed vigor and perspicuity.[16] It precluded him from getting too involved in the affairs of the East and restored his psychological bearings. It also gave him a standpoint from which he could view the worlds of East and West and his own bewilderment and turmoil. Barbara Hannah wrote:

> When Jung got home from his Indian journey he told me that, in some ways, it had been the most bewildering experience of his life; but that as a result of it he had eventually found a standpoint, through realizing that the most important quality to cultivate is what the French call *sagesse*.[17]

Jung's experiences of the crowded cities, the aura of Indian mysticism, the outlook of colonial psychologists, the attitude of Indian philosophers, and the scientific ideals of the British triggered in him conflicting reactions. He was frustrated that his empirical conceptions were barely recognized by Indian academia. Jung gave perhaps five lectures in India on the subjects of dreams, psychic energy, psychological types, and the collective unconscious, but these talks were not well reported nor was his work discoursed upon in formal academic circles. Notions that his psychology was not scientific clouded the congressional deliberations. In comparison, the informal circles of Colombo in Ceylon seemed more enthusiastic about his work. These diverse experiences baffled Jung but eventually helped him to find a standpoint. This stance was not just of personal relevance to him but of immense objective significance as well. Jung had witnessed the influence of culture on those whose lives had been consumed by their pursuit of the Orient and therefore knew the importance of having a *locus standi*. He knew that Wilhelm, Zimmer, Hauer, Hesse, and others had failed to find a standpoint from which they could relate to their own cultures while engaging with the East. During the Tavistock seminars, Jung had stated that one should not identify too deeply with the collective unconscious, as its inherent condition of oneness and lack of psychological differentiation could be dangerous for the psyche.[18] Jung had seen how affinity with alien religions and cultures had impacted the lives of his close colleagues and his perceptions emerged from those hard realities. In that sense, J. J. Clarke's apprehensions seem misplaced. Clarke wrote:

> Jung may also have exaggerated the extent to which individuals are "rooted" in their own cultures and hence are barred from participating meaningfully in another. In his attempt to emphasize the fundamental differences between East and West he falls into ways of thinking about cultures and cultural differences which now appear to us naïve . . . The danger here is not merely that we oversimplify the differences, as in his characterization of the West as

> "extraverted" and the East as "introverted," but that we encourage the view that there are some fundamental, essential differences between the mentalities of Orientals and Occidentals —an attitude that can easily slide into racism of one sort of another.[19]

It is important to recall here that while Jung pointed out several cultural and ideological differences between the East and West and referred to differences in their psychological orientations, this was not from a bigoted and racist perspective. Jung felt it was imperative to be rooted in one's own culture to participate meaningfully in another's. He found several things unusual or peculiar about India during his journey, just as he found many facets admirable and enriching.[20] His observation of peculiarity or strangeness about something was stirred only in a psychological sense. Jung was not an advocate of racial oneness, because he believed that every individual's history, culture, and religion had its significance to that person's psychological development and had to be lived in full. He also knew that a long engagement with an alien culture could impair the psyche if one did not have that essential standpoint of one's own. Only a firm foundation in one's own religious and cultural roots could foster a meaningful assimilation of other cultures. He spoke of the *unus mundus* and the synthesis between the worlds of East and West when he stated that:

> It points to the sphere of the *unus mundus*, the unitary world, towards which the psychologist and the atomic physicist are converging along separate paths, producing independently of one another certain analogous auxiliary concepts. Although the first step in the cognitive process is to discriminate and divide, at the second step it will unite what has been divided, and an explanation will be satisfactory only when it achieves a synthesis.[21]

The differences between the East and West that emerged in Jung's experience of India were crucial in enlightening him about the relative merits and drawbacks of both cultures. The dialogue that Jung wished to carry forward with the East hoped for a synthesis of the two worlds and not a severance between them. Jung accepted the fact that in the context in which the journey occurred, with the diverse and contentious realities that had surfaced, it was difficult to forge a straightforward and harmonious relation with India. His interactions with Dasgupta, Vasavada, and Basu confirmed this. Yet, Jung did not see this impasse as the end of his relation with the East but an interim process. Jung's dialogue with India never expired; India sought out and endeavored to engage with him from diverse and contending positions. The outcomes of Jung's journey in India were spread over many

decades and have quietly catalyzed, over the years, a receptivity toward his ideas; tracing the objective history of Jung in India is an extension of that significant dialogue.

The Mystery of the Psyche

The mystery of the psyche that Jung wished to unearth by approaching it from opposite sides, drawing on the introspective mind of the East and the extraverted attitude of the West, is not one that can be unraveled easily.[22] The stories of the earliest Eastern journeys are equally arcane and mysterious. Long before Jung even envisaged his encounter with India, the East had been combed by explorers who had traveled through Asia to reach the land of Cathay and the kingdom of Kublai Khan. Kublai Khan was not a Christian but was keen to have Christ's teachings preached in his land. The first crossings were therefore not just geographical, but religious and cultural. Since that time, journeys to the East have symbolized explorations into cultural and religious realms. Jung's inquiry into the East also began with his explorations of ancient Hindu myths and religious symbols, the Taoist and Buddhist philosophies of China, and the *I Ching*. His early readings on India were rich and productive, but his subsequent interface with the East was not a simple and easy affair.

The first difficulty surfaced when he began interacting with Indian philosophers and evangelists and discerned that his psychology conflicted with the Eastern philosophical approach. Jung's psychological concept of the unconscious contrasted with the Indian philosophical notion of the supreme consciousness.[23] Subramanya Iyer, who was one of the first Indian scholars Jung interacted with, refuted the notion of reality that originated in dreams. Iyer's contention was that dreams are unreal and illusory:

> Unsophisticated minds like those of very young children often make no distinction between the waking and the dream-world objects. They consider both of them real. Minds weak or primitive in character believe that they actually see real ghosts, spirits, and God or Gods in dreams.[24]

Thus Jung's psychological precepts were incompatible with Iyer's philosophical views from the very onset. It was not Iyer's personal viewpoint that came between him and Jung but the newfound scientific spirit of the early 1900s that decried speculative notions of any kind. On the other hand,

while censuring Jung about his inability to go deeper, Iyer viewed Jung's scientific approach as being inadequate for assimilating Eastern philosophical concepts.[25] Jung, on his part, felt that the Indian philosophical attitude was speculative and unempirical. Jung's concept of psychological wholeness or individuation, based on the integration of all aspects of the psyche was a spiritual notion as much as it was psychological. Coming from a scientific background and well versed in philosophy, Jung had no reason to believe that his psychological stance was lacking a philosophical premise. In a letter to Iyer in 1939, he had described Iyer's ideas as "metaphysical assertions of the nineteenth century" that had been renounced by the West a long time ago.[26] He refuted the idea of a supreme consciousness:

> what we call the unconscious is an exact replica of the Indian concept of super- or supreme consciousness. As far as my knowledge goes, however, we have no evidence at all in favour of the hypothesis that a prehuman and preconscious psyche is conscious to anybody and therefore a consciousness.[27]

Regardless of these disagreements Jung did not abandon his dialogue with the East altogether. This is borne out of the fact that he corresponded with Iyer and Boshi for many years, invited Surendranath Dasgupta to Zürich, and in his later years engaged with Arwind Vasavada, Samiran Banerji, and Arindam Basu. It was India's overall indifference toward his psychology that frustrated him. But this too he understood eventually as an idiosyncrasy of the Indian mind.[28]

It is pertinent to remember here that Jung made no observations about Indian psychology in his reminiscences of India. The harmony and collaboration with the Indian mind that Jung wished to pursue was to be realized without addressing the thorny issues of contemporary Indian psychology. For Jung there was no common ground of discourse with Freud's ideas, and the peculiar harmony that Indian psychologists had found with Freud's ideas was incomprehensible to him. He had witnessed the congressional atmosphere with bewilderment, knowing full well that Freud was not concerned with the philosophy, culture, and religion of India. Jung deduced Freud's presence in the subcontinent as an outcome of British educational policies on Indian academia.

It was Indra Sen's address at a psychology session of the science congress of 1946 that finally introduced Jung's work to Indian academia. Prof. Sen went against the conventional scientific trend when he brought spiritual

notions into a psychology discourse. In doing so, he forged a critical link between East and West and between science and spirituality. Jung was scientifically grounded, but his psychology incorporated the spiritual and religious notion of wholeness, unlike the scientific psychology of the West, and was therefore distinct from the mainstream scientific psychology of that era. Indra Sen reopened the link between Jung and India and showed how intricate and complex the dialogue was between Eastern and Western psychology; it demonstrates the necessity to conduct this dialogue in stages and with utmost care and conscientiousness.

The link between Jung and India weakened in the decades after his return also because of Jung's own feelings and reactions about India. His annoyance, occasional outbursts, wariness, and emotional sensitivity were evident not only when he was in India but also in his later responses and thoughts whenever the subject of India was broached. Jung would not accept a philosophical juxtaposition of his psychological precepts, nor would he agree to his psychological approach being called "speculative" and "philosophical." Sometimes he disregarded even an apparent similitude between the two fields because he wished to uphold the distinctiveness of his psychological premises in comparison with Eastern philosophy. To Arindam Basu's query whether Hindu gods and goddesses could be considered as archetypes, Jung merely said that such a comparison was possible, but he had not thought about it.[29] Jung's edginess and deliberate distancing from philosophical speculations was palpable.[30] Occasionally, he gave vent to his displeasure.[31] These reactions dimmed the chances of a fruitful discourse, and although Jung's intent was only to spell out his standpoint, it more often than not led to an impasse in his relationship with India, rather than driving it forward.

The Legend of Marco Polo

The journeys to the East centuries ago bear unusual parallels to Jung's journey. In a conversation with E. A. Bennet in 1957, Jung said that the stories of long ago drove him to the truth. He told Bennet that it was not the future that appealed to him as much as the past, a *vis a tergo*, for he wished to know what things really were.[32]

When Marco Polo, the legendary Venetian explorer, undertook an eastern

journey inspired by the heroic deeds of his forefathers, a long and intricate adventure unfolded for him.[33] Polo's journey was born out of the journeys of his forefathers, much like Jung's, whose intellectual forebears were Schopenhauer, Goethe, Leibniz, and Meister Eckhart. Like Polo, who was enamored by stories of the East from his childhood, Jung's inspiration began early. Marco Polo's passage to the East was difficult, involving daring feats and laced with many obstacles. Jung's passage to India was also intricate and challenging, even if it was not as heroic or all-encompassing. Legend has it that when Marco Polo's father and uncle, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, were planning to return home after their Eastern adventure, they were unable to do so because of the obstacles they faced in their path. They had heard that the great emperor of Cathay, Kublai Khan, treated visitors well, and so they approached him for help. Kublai Khan helped the two merchants with their homeward journey, asking them to return with the holy oil from Jerusalem and a hundred Christian missionaries. This act symbolically introduced an alliance between the East and West and opened up the path for all future explorations.

Holy oil was used in Jerusalem for anointing priests and objects of the tabernacle and sometimes for anointing kings and prophets in the Far East. It was a sacred ointment that the wise emperor wished to obtain to mark the beginning of a vital alliance between his land and the faraway West. Marco Polo was keen to accompany his father after he heard of his adventures. But, he and his family had to obtain the holy oil and gather a band of missionaries before they could embark on their epochal journey.

> The road was rough, and there were stories of robbers and even of savage armies. The two missionaries, thoroughly frightened, turned back, but Nicolo, with his son and his brother, went on. The heavy snows, the flooding of the rivers, the terrible cold, kept them from travelling during the winter, and it took them three years to come near the Court of the Emperor.[34]

When Marco Polo finally reached the kingdom of Kublai Khan, the emperor took a liking to him and appointed him as his emissary. The doors between East and West widened as a result; Polo stayed back in the land of Cathay traveling through the Eastern provinces, learning Chinese dialects, and imbibing the customs and traditions of the East. When at last he wished to return to his homeland after seventeen long years, Kublai Khan was reluctant to let him go but agreed if he fulfilled some obligations. And so after many twists and turns in the journey, Marco Polo returned to Venice.

But Venice had gone to war with neighboring Genoa in the meantime, and Marco Polo was imprisoned as a result. And so as fate would have it, Polo's return and resettling in his homeland was deferred. It was a timely and necessary interruption, for the internment gave Polo time to reorient himself back into his own culture after several years of absence. It was not until he had recounted his Eastern adventures to a fellow countryman in prison that he was finally free to resettle in his homeland. The journey concluded when his psyche had integrated itself with his Western world. In a curious synchronization of events, it was then that his release from prison took place. The legend of Marco Polo has many significant psychological truths to reflect upon.

Jung's journey carried some of the essential elements of an archetypal journey and yet differed from it many ways. The initiation into the East preceded his actual passage to India. But Jung's invitation stemmed from unknown quarters and India's response toward him remained ambiguous always. The holy lamp and the hundred Christian emissaries that Kublai Khan had asked for were symbolic intermediaries in Marco Polo's journey. Polo's acclimatization into the Eastern world and assimilation of an Eastern life was offset by the Christian teachings that he disseminated in the East. This ensured that the Venetian was never completely alienated from his cultural and religious moorings. These symbolic acts ensured Polo's safe return to his homeland without any psychological and spiritual distress. His homecoming was staggered, if only by providence, and so he could realign himself back to his Western world after his long stint away in the East. His civilian loyalties were tested, first at war and then through an internment, and these were important psychological acts that helped fulfill Marco Polo's passage to the East.

Jung's journey did not hinge on such dramatic lines. Neither kingdoms nor holy tabernacles formed part of Jung's passage. The journey was not epic in scale, and Jung's presence did not stir the Eastern world greatly. Although the journey was far from a superfluous endeavor, its particulars were never brought to light. Jung's journey was a passage into the numinous and intricate ingresses of the psyche that needs many more inquiries into the history and culture of our times—inquiries that may well have begun, even if they take many years to reach any significant conclusion.

NOTES

[1] Elspeth J. Boog-Watson, *Beyond the Sunset: A Book of Explorers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 4.

[2] The Philemon Foundation is currently preparing for publication a volume containing Jung's exchanges with Hauer, Zimmer, and other Indologists, "Jung and the Indologists: Jung's Correspondences with Wilhelm Hauer, Heinrich Zimmer and Mircea Eliade"; see https://www.philemonfoundation.org/forthcoming/jung_and_the_indologists.

[3] For a glimpse of the spiritual travels that were undertaken by Western itinerants during the 1930s, see Annie Cahn Fung, "Paul Brunton: un pont entre l'Inde et l'Occident" ["Paul Brunton: A Bridge between India and the West"] (doctoral thesis, Department of Religious Anthropology, Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, 1992).

[4] Ann Conrad Lammers, ed., *The Jung-Kirsch Letters: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and James Kirsch* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 47.

[5] Jung did not dwell on the unpleasant aspects of his journey in his writings, nor did he leave a commentary on Indian psychology, Freud's links with India, British science, or his encounters with the Indians with whom he shared contentious views. Instead, he spelled out the differences between East and West in his writings and explained the differences between his psychology and Freud's.

[6] Jung told Miguel Serrano in an interview in 1959 that "the Hindus are notoriously weak in rational exposition. They think, for the most part, in parables or images. They are not interested in appealing to reason." See Miguel Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse: A Record of Two Friendships* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966; reprinted Einsiedeln: Daimon, 1976), p. 64; and appendix B, "Archival Extracts—Personal Memoirs." It is worthwhile to remember that Jung's views were shaped by his interactions with Indians like Boshi Sen, Subramanya Iyer, the monks of the Ramakrishna Order, Surendranath Dasgupta, Arwind Vasavada, and others who had a philosophical background and orientation. Jung talks of reason here are apropos empirical reasoning.

[7] Jung had cautioned the audience at the Kundalini seminars about getting carried away by Eastern symbols and philosophical notions: "But they are a

foreign body in our system—*corpus alienum*—and they inhibit the natural growth and development of our own psychology. It is like a secondary growth or a poison. Therefore one has to make almost heroic attempts to master these things, to do something against those symbols in order to deprive them of their influence." C. G. Jung, *Psychology of Kundalini Yoga: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1932 by C. G. Jung*, edited by Sonu Shamdasani (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 14.

[8] Jung's words as quoted by Arindam Basu: "Psychology as the science of the soul has to confine itself to its subject and to guard against overstepping its proper boundaries by metaphysical assertions or other professions of faith." Arindam Basu, "An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung," *Mother India* (August, 1993): 570. See also appendix B, "Archival Extracts —Personal Memoirs."

[9] Alfred Würfel, *India, My Karma: Alfred Würfel Remembers* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2004), pp. 118–119.

[10] It is pertinent to remember that Jung found the temple sites of northern India difficult to view, and he was disturbed by the Hindu temples where animal sacrifices were performed. Although he toured the Hindu temples of the south, he left no extensive commentaries about these visits, and he was not attracted to the holy men of India. The Buddhist sites inspired him, but here again Jung's experience was as an outsider who inquired into the rites and symbols of Buddhism from a psychological point of view. In contrast to Jung, Alfred Würfel, Paul Brunton, Alice Boner, Alain Daniélou, and others who traveled to India in that decade were inspired by the East and were indoctrinated into various religious folds in India.

[11] C. G. Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2: 1951–1961*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 33.

[12] J. J. Clarke, quoted in C. G. Jung, *Jung on the East* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 10.

[13] In his letter to Erich Neumann in 1952, Jung is critical of the spiritual ventures of gurus and evangelists in India. See Jung, *Letters, Vol. 2*, pp. 42–43. Jung had similar reservations about the established Christian church.

[14] Jung says about his dream in Calcutta, "Here was this essentially European dream emerging when I had barely worked my way out of the overwhelming mass of Indian impressions." C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams,*

Reflections, edited by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p. 282.

[15] Barbara Hannah writes: "He told us when he got home: 'I could not digest India, and that is why I had to be so ill in Calcutta.'" Barbara Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work: A Biographical Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), p. 242.

[16] Jung said about *participation mystique* that "it is an unconscious identity in which two individual psychic spheres interpenetrate to such a degree that it is impossible to say what belongs to whom . . . and at first there is no possibility of breaking this emotional identity. For this a special act of reflection is required." C. G. Jung, "A Psychological View of Conscience"(1958), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 452.

[17] Hannah, *Jung, His Life and Work*, p. 248.

[18] C. G. Jung, "The Tavistock Lectures" (1935), in *The Symbolic Life*, vol. 18, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), § 87.

[19] Clarke, quoted in Jung, *Jung on the East*, p. 22

[20] In addition to the various facets of India which Jung liked, he was also appreciative of Indian women, and he observed how the feminine principle had been assimilated by women in India. He was impressed by the civility in behavior of southern Indian people, the mysterious knowledge of truth that ordinary villagers reflected, the humble and dutiful qualities of an ordinary devotee of Ramana Maharshi whom he met in Trivandrum. See C. G. Jung, "What India Can Teach Us" (1939), in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 528–529.

[21] Jung, "A Psychological View of Conscience," p. 452.

[22] Jung said, in 1951, "We expect of India and her spiritual attitude a unique contribution—an introspection originating in a different point of view which would compensate the one-sidedness of the European outlook. We look forward hopefully to a collaboration with the Indian mind, knowing that the mystery of the psyche can be understood only when approached from opposite sides." C. G. Jung, "Preface to an Indian Journal of Psychotherapy" (1955), in *The Symbolic Life*, vol. 18, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 801.

[23] In a letter to V. Subramanya Iyer, Jung wrote: “What I call ‘consciousness’ would coincide with what you call ‘mind’ . . . If you abolish the ego altogether, then you create unconsciousness . . . One assumes however that there is a consciousness without ego, a sort of consciousness of the atman. I’m afraid this supreme consciousness is at least not one we could possess. Inasmuch as it exists, we do not exist.” Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 247.

[24] V. Subramanya Iyer, *The Philosophy of Truth* (Mysore: The Ramakrishna Mission, 1955), p. 297.

[25] Iyer is reported to have said: “Jung is in dispute with me. Therefore he says psychology is enough. I say that you must go deeper. You must ask what to the meaning of mind, sub-consciousness etc.” Mark Scorelle, ed., *Advaita: The Truth of Non-Duality*, in the words of V. Subrahmanya Iyer, from the posthumous collections of Paul Brunton (Rhinebeck, NY: Epigraph Books, 2009), p. 243.

[26] Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 255.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] Jung told Miguel Serrano in 1959, almost twenty years after his Indian journey, that “as far as I can see, an Indian, so long as he remains in India, doesn’t think—at least not in the same way we do. Rather, he perceives a thought. We can only hope to find that kind of reasoning in a civilization which has progressed virtually without interruption from primitive times. Our natural evolution in Western Europe was broken by the introduction of a psychology and of a spirituality which has developed from a civilization higher than our own. We were interrupted at the very beginning when our beliefs were still barbarously polytheistic, and these beliefs were forced underground and remained there for the last two thousand years. That, I believe explains the divisiveness that is found in the Western mind.” Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse*, p. 66.

[29] Basu, “An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung,” p. 570.

[30] In a letter to Boshi Sen in February 1938, Jung wrote: “I never mind an argument. Presumably you mean the eternal continuation of existence. India is keen on such speculations. I am as modest as an earthworm when it comes to such things. I assume nothing at all about it . . . I also don’t know whether continuation of life beyond earthly existence would be a good or bad thing.” Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 241.

[31] In a letter to W. Y. Evans-Wentz in 1939, Jung wrote, after a long

explanation on consciousness and the Indian concept of super-consciousness, *sunyata*, etc.: “I don’t compete with confessions of religious creeds. I never claimed to be a metaphysician and I do not sympathize with the preaching of more metaphysical convictions. We have too many of them already and too few that are really believed.” Jung, *Letters, Vol. 1*, p. 264.

[32] “I asked C. G. if he had ever, as it were, heard the future calling him. He said it was never like that with him. He knew others—Goethe, for example—had felt that; but for him it was always something behind, a *vis a tergo*, pushing him to find the truth, what things really were. He had never been satisfied with theory because it lacked historical support; it had no background.” E. A. Bennet, *Meetings with Jung: Conversations Recorded during the Years 1946–1961* (Zürich: Daimon, 1985), p. 71.

[33] Marco Polo (1254–1324), a Venetian merchant, spent many years in the service of Kublai Khan, and in his journeys to and from Khan’s court and around the Mongol Empire he picked up immense amounts of direct and indirect knowledge about Asia. His work introduced Europeans to a world which was almost entirely barred to them and it profoundly influenced centuries of exploration and imagination. Marco Polo, *The Customs of the Kingdoms of India*, trans. Ronald Latham (London: Penguin Books, 1958).

[34] Boog-Watson, *Beyond the Sunset*, p. 17.

APPENDIX A

ARCHIVAL EXTRACTS
JUNG'S PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS

Times of India, December 27, 1937, page 18
British Scientists in Delhi
Hospitality of Capital
From our Special Correspondent

New Delhi, Dec. 24. The best of spirits prevailed among the members of the British Association, when to the number of nearly a hundred they arrived in New Delhi by train from Agra this morning. They all had one regret and it was for the accident by which the doyen of their party broke his leg in a fall at Agra, while visiting the Taj Mahal by moonlight. But all were full of the enjoyment of their tour and of praise for the comfort of the travel in their railway tourist cars. Reaching here in the early morning, another prominent topic in their conversation was the chilliness of the climate for these are fur coat days in Delhi, especially in the morning and after the sun's decline.

The delegates programme in the capital is the simplest, and the Government branch concerning itself with them is the Education, Health and Lands Department. Its programme consisted of facilitating a visit to the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute in the morning and a lunch at Maiden's Hotel afterwards. For the rest, the Department provided the delegates with a score of motor cars.

Federal Judges "At Home"

But the hospitality of the capital does not end there. In spite of the general Christmas flight from Delhi, a large number of residents are vying with one another to extend to the visitors the most cordial hospitality.

The Hon. Sir Shah Sulefman gave a large “at home” in their honour this afternoon in the garden of his residence and it was largely attended. This evening, the delegates are dining in small parties which the residents are delighted to have arranged for them in different parts of the city.

The delegates have today had little time for ordinary sightseeing, but having no official engagements for tomorrow, they are proposing to do a good deal of it then. Tomorrow evening, they are due to resume their itinerary and to leave by train shortly before half past seven for Dehra Dun.

Times of India, Educational Supplement, December 31, 1937, page 14

Science Congress Delegates
Arrival in Calcutta

Calcutta, Dec. 29. About 100 overseas delegates to the silver jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress arrived here this afternoon by special train and, after an hour’s stay, left for Darjeeling. The delegates, who were received by a large number of friends and members of the reception committee at Sealdah station, will return to Calcutta on Sunday next.

Sir James Jeans, the leader of the British delegates and president elect of the Indian Science Congress, stated in an interview that he and the other delegates had had a delightful tour in India and were greatly impressed by their visits to cities like Agra and Benares and historic places like Sanchi and Ajanta.

He did not want to compare them with one another, but what had impressed him most was Benares, where they had an opportunity of seeing the magnificent ghats from the river morning. The city possesses something unique in its character. The Taj Mahal similarly impressed the delegates, many of whom saw the grand mausoleum not only during the day but also in the moonlit night as well as in darkness.

Six of the delegates did not go to Darjeeling and are staying in Calcutta.

The Hindu, January 4, 1938, page 9

Indian Science Congress
Opening Session at Calcutta
(Associated Special Service)

Calcutta, Jan. 3. In the presence of a distinguished gathering of over 2,000 delegates and guests, including many eminent scientists, H. E. the Viceroy opened this morning on the grounds of the University College of Science the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress Association, which is being held jointly with the British Association for the Advancement of Science. On arrival, H. E. the Viceroy was received by H. E. the Governor of Bengal and the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Their Excellencies were then conducted to the quadrangle. After the inspection of the Guard of Honour by H. E. the Viceroy, accompanied by the General Officer Commanding the Presidency and Assam District, the Chairman introduced to Their Excellencies Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkataraman, the immediate past president of the Congress. The Secretary of the Reception Committee, the General Secretaries, the past presidents and the President of the Indian Science Congress Association, the past Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta University and the Ministers of the Bengal Government who were present on the occasion were also introduced to Their Excellencies. H. E. the Viceroy and H. E. the Governor of Bengal were then conducted to the dais in a procession.

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and requested H. E. The Viceroy to open the session. This was followed by the Viceroy's opening address and Sir James Jeans' inaugural address. Sir James Jeans then read extracts from the Presidential address, which had been prepared for the conference by the late Lord Rutherford. H. E. the Viceroy then conferred on twelve distinguished foreign and Indian scientists—Sir James Jeans, Sir Arthur Eddington, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. F. W. Aston, Sir Frederick Hobday, Prof. J. L. Simonsen, Sir M. Visveswaraya, Prof. C. G. Jung, Prof. A. H. R. Butler, Prof L. F. de Beaufort. Prof. M. N. Saha and Sir P. C. Ray—the honour of Honorary Silver Jubilee Membership of the Indian Science Congress Association. After votes of thanks to Their Excellencies and to the Reception Committee, the Congress adjourned to meet tomorrow.

***The Statesman*, January 8, 1938, page 17**

Visitors Honoured by University
Special Convocation at Government House

The Throne Room of the Government House, Calcutta, presented and impressive spectacle yesterday when at a special Convocation of the University of Calcutta, nine of the visiting delegates of the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress Association and Sir William Holdsworth, Tagore Law Professor, 1937, were admitted to the Honorary Degree of Law by His Excellency the Chancellor, Lord Brabourne.

In declaring the Convocation open His Excellency welcomed the delegates and observed that by honouring them the University was honouring itself.

Their presence here, His Excellency added, had been a happy one and this, he hoped, might make it possible for them to pay another visit to this country.

The recipients of the Honorary Degrees were: Sir James Hopwood Jeans, Prof. Francis William Aston, Prof. Ernest Barker, Prof. Arthur Henry Reginald Buller, Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington, Prof. Ronald Aylmer Fisher, Sir William Searle Holdsworth, Prof. Charles Gustave Jung, Prof. Charles Samuel Myers and Prof. Walther Straub.

Addressing the Convocation the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee said: We have met here to-day to confer honorary degrees on several persons distinguished for their eminent position and attainments. This is indeed one of the highly cherished privileges of a University which aims at securing the advancement of learning not merely by means of examinations but by the provision of study and research and by drawing within its sphere of recognition persons who have served as interpreters and torch-bearers of knowledge, and as conquerors of new realms of thought.

It is in the fitness of things that on the occasion of the visit of so many illustrious scholars to this great city, the Senate should decide to exercise its valuable right to confer on some of them the honorary degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Law, and upon me has developed the duty to remind you briefly of the services rendered by them to the cause of progress and learning.

The distinguished representatives of science and culture who are now in our midst, may differ from one another in many respects, but they are bound by one common bond of knowledge and action: they are all votaries of knowledge, and they believe steadfastly in the progress of human thought and

civilization.

Search for truth is the noblest duty of man; it recognizes no barriers; it breaks down all prejudices. In the field of scholarship and knowledge let unity, harmony and equality rule the relation between the east and the west, and permanently create an atmosphere of genuine understanding and friendliness which will prove a valuable asset for the preservation of the peace and stability of the world.

The visiting and Indian delegates of the Congress were entertained at a garden party given in the grounds of the Government House.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, January 10, 1938, page 8

What's Collective Unconscious

Empirical Matter

Prof. Jung's Definition of the Concept

At the Psychology Section of the Indian Science Congress on Sunday at the Asutosh Hall, Prof. Jung delivered the following lecture which was illustrated by slides.

"Probably none of my concepts has met with so much misunderstanding as the idea of the collective unconscious. In the following I will try to give a definition of the concept, a description of what it means for psychology, an explanation of the method of proof and some examples.

"The collective unconscious is a part of the psyche which can be distinguished from a personal subconscious by the fact that it does not owe its existence to personal experience and consequently is not a personal acquisition. While the personal subconscious is made up essentially of contents which have at one time been conscious but which have disappeared from consciousness either by having forgotten or repressed, the contents of the collective unconscious have never been in consciousness and therefore have never been individually acquired but owe their existence exclusively to heredity. In contrast to the personal nature of the psyche there is a second psychical system of a collective and non-personal character beside our immediate consciousness which is of a thoroughly personal nature and which we believe to be the only empirical psyche even if we add the personal subconsciousness as an appendix.

"One may admit without hesitation that human activity is influenced to a high degree by instincts—apart from the rational motivation of consciousness. Now when the assertion is made that our fantasy, perception and thinking are likewise influenced by inborn and universally present principles of form, it seems to me that a normally functioning understanding can discover in this idea just as much or just as little mysticism as in the theory of instincts. Although this reproach of mysticism has often been brought against my concept, I must emphasise again that the concept of the collective unconscious is neither a speculative nor a philosophical but an empirical matter.

"The idea of a second birth extends throughout time and space. At the time of the first beginnings of medicine, it is to be found as a magical means of healing; in many religions it is the mystical experience; it is a central idea of medieval natural philosophy and last not least, the infantile fantasy of many small and grown-up children who believe that their parents are not their real parents but merely adopted ones to whom they have been handed over.

"In so far as a neurosis is really only a private matter that is to say having its roots really only in personal causes, archetypes play no role at all. But if it is a matter of general incompatibility or an otherwise injurious condition producing neurosis in a relatively large number of individuals, then we must assume the presence of archetypes."

Amrita Bazar Patrika, January 16, 1938, page 13

Aspects of Psychology

Interesting Study

Prof. Jung's Lecture at Ashutosh College

Prof. Jung delivered a popular lecture on Psychology at the Ashutosh College, Bhowanipore before a distinguished gathering on the 11th January. Dr. S. N. Roy presided.

At first, Prof. J. C. Bannerji introduced Dr. Jung to the audience in course of which he narrated the standpoint of Jung's psychology and also mentioned how and where Jung differed from Freud.

Psychology is the science of the human mind which is not a small thing but embraces the universe. For if we were not able to perceive the universe, it

would not be—it is only as and what we see. We do not see the light waves, we see colours; we do not hear the vibrations of ethers but we hear sound. We must grasp the universe to be aware of it.

There are certain urges which we feel and which when dominant characterise different types of people.

A fundamental, indeed the basic idea is the need for food. Hunger drives the primitive peoples to their first activity because food is in most parts of the world the one essential to life that man does not find ready at hand. He must put forth effort to get it. Even today people may be dominated by hunger. For instance, Prof. referred to a certain pair of religious fanatics who once nearly starved their children to make saints of them. The girl died, the boy survived but was always all through his life driven by the hunger urge. In spite of the fact that he became successful and was very aesthetic he was never free from urge.

Fear—Primitive man finds himself surrounded by a difficult world which he does not understand and his fears drive him to work his way out of them. Fear is very necessary to men for deprived of it he loses all incentive to activity as was discovered when well-meaning people removed the fears of some tribes of Africa. Robbed of their fears they sank into an indolence from which they could not be roused.

Even men who are successful have plenty of money, a good position, all that they need, manufacture fears as their means increase. They need the fears to make them drive forward.

Lust for money drives many people to activity and motivates their lives.

Another idea that can dominate is the ‘power drive.’ However strange or unpleasant it may appear to others who are not so influenced there is no doubt that everything some people do in their private and public life is done through their desire for power and prestige.

Sex is still another idea which may completely colour all that some persons do or think.

Then there are men whose motives are the sacred demon of knowledge, learning, understanding. Such people will follow any path, however hard, will make any sacrifice not only of themselves but of their families to follow this goal of understanding. They are perfectly sincere.

Creativeness is another dominating factor in human life. This is the ruling passion of some lives. The lives of great artists, musicians and creative thinkers will afford many examples of this fact, of the lengths to which this

passion will carry them—with no regard to their families or those dependent on them so long as they can push forward their idea. They do not seek for fame nor money nor the praise of the world—they are perfectly honest and sincere and unselfish in their devotion to their ruling idea.

The religious genius is another aspiration of the human mind just as powerful and controlling as the others. Ethical aspirations also at times provide the dominant urge for people. For e.g., the idea of love, of devotion, of service may completely take hold of persons and sweep them along in its path.

If we do not always understand a man, it is not that he is confused but who do not see what is so clear to him. Psychology is not knowing it better, it is a sincere science. And when we do not understand a man, as we must try to get into his mind and see that as he thinks is right for him. It may not be your way, nor my way, but it is 'his' way and who am I to make the path for everyone?

Youth is full of the fear of life and that is understandable because there is much in life to fear. But when that fear prevents men or women from engaging in life because of the possible dangers in marriage, a contract, a business obligation, then it becomes an abnormal fear.

Middle age does not fear life, for by the time a man is forty five or fifty, he has made his place in the world, raised his family, taken whatever position he has been able to make for himself. Then he begins to fear death. Death is the goal of age, as maturity is of youth. Man must be able to walk forward into death intelligently and serenely, for death is the climax of life.

A great change comes over man's intellectual life as he advances in life. The mind of a young man is never like that of a middle-aged or old man. About the age of 35 or 40 the mind of man begins to change, and he looks forward into a future life. If he is wise and healthy, he begins to believe in immortality, even if he never has before this. No one can prove immortality, but it is not wise to try to be too intellectual about such a subject. Then people believe in it they are showing a healthy mind and that is what is important.

Nature is not democratic. There are many different types and degrees of people born—some wise, or brilliant, some stupid etc.

Fundamentally, people view the world in two different ways—

1. One type bases his knowledge entirely upon what he can do to objective things and what they can do to him. Everything

with him is with regard to the object. Such a one is called an extrovert.

2. The other type is so made that everything one does and thinks is ultimately subjected to the text of what he thinks and believes. And this is known as introversion. These two types are incompatible. When they marry, if they are poor they stand back to back and fight against the world—but let them come into a legacy with enough money to lift them above need and then they turn and face each other for the first time—and then the trouble begins.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Bar-at Law, the Secretary of the college gave in course of a short and beautiful speech, a heart vote of thanks to the Chair and learned speaker.

Prabuddha Bharata, March 1938, pages 128–131
An Evening with Prof. C. G. Jung
by Swami Pavitrananda

In a tea party organized in honour of German scientists I met an old Professor of mine, who had taken a leading part in the last session of the Indian Science Congress.

"Do you know how long Sir Arthur Eddington will stay in Calcutta?" I asked my Professor.

"He has already left Calcutta," was the reply.

"I am also sorry I was out of Calcutta these days. I would be so glad to meet Sir Arthur. Do you know when Prof. Jung is leaving Calcutta?"

The Professor with an endearing smile pointed me to a person who stood just behind me engaged in some conversation. A strong-built man, firmness and determination beaming through his placid face, though advanced in years with not much indication of age in him, it was Professor Jung.

"How do you do, Professor? Are you perfectly all right?" (After coming to Calcutta he fell ill and had to go to hospital.)

"I am all right. Thank you."

"How long do you hope to be in Calcutta? I would be so glad to meet you

some day."

"I am leaving Calcutta day after to-morrow. Why don't you come to my place just now—along with me? Can you?"

I was eager to have some friendly talks with him, and so I jumped at the idea.

"Oh yes, I will."

I drove with the Professor to the hotel where he was staying.

I was all alone in a room with Professor Jung—a great psychologist—a collaborator with Freud but afterwards differing from his school—one whose name is respected all over the world. I thought it was a rare opportunity to have a heart-to-heart talk with him.

"I am sorry," I said, "I could not attend your lecture. I was away from Calcutta."

"Then you did not see the pictures I showed in my lecture. All right. I will show them to you."

With this he brought out some slides from his box and began to show them to me one by one: Some pictures (rather symbolic representations) were taken from Tibet, some from India, and some were the photographic representations of images from the unconscious.

"What do you mean by photographs of the unconscious, Professor?" I asked in astonishment. "How could you take photographs of images from the unconscious?"

"Well, when patients come to me, I ask some of them to concentrate their mind on themselves. Then some imagery comes to their mind—sometimes faintly, sometimes clearly. Hearing from them the description, I ask them to draw the picture." Then the Professor began to explain what these symbols meant.

"How do you give such interpretations to these pictures?" (I meant if these interpretations were not arbitrary.)

He began to explain as to how he comes to the correctness of the explanation he gives to these symbols.

The subject did not interest me so much—for I did not like to enter into controversy over the matter.

"If you don't mind, Professor," I said, "I will ask you some straight questions. I hope you will excuse my frankness.

"As I read the books which you psychologists and psychoanalysts write, I find them sickening. I feel as if I am entering into a dark, unhealthy world

where there is darkness within darkness—darkness that terrifies one's mind, and paralyses one's activities for higher pursuits. Why do you appeal only to the lower nature of man? Do you think man is simply an animal? Do you mean to say human nature is so very depraved? Some psycho-analysts try to prove that the only concern of man's life is sex—there I nothing higher. Well, man is more than food and raiment; man is also more than food and sex. I was so glad to read some years back in an American Magazine—most probably in the Forum—an article by you where you said that the dominating factor in man's life is spiritual hankering. I was surprised that you could say that."

"Yes, I feel that way. But because I say that, I have to pay a very heavy price. People are against me, they criticize me they revile me—they write all sorts of things against me. I am fighting against (g)hosts,—all alone."

"Yes. Please go on doing that. Thereby you will be doing a great service to the whole world."

"The fact is," said the Professor in an animated tone, "many of the psycho-analysts come into contact with people only of gross materialistic minds, whose only concern in life is sense-pleasure, who are of morbid nature. What higher things can you expect from the analysis of such minds?"

"Exactly what I was thinking. I feel that the psychoanalysts generally meet with lower types of people and hence these are their conclusions. I do admit that there is the animal in man. But is there not the Divine in him? Many psychoanalysts want to prove that there is only the animal in man, and that that is the general law. Some time back an American minister—Fosdick, if I remember aright—wrote, 'People nowadays talk openly of things, which 20 years back one would not dare whisper in a brothel.' I think I shall not be wrong if I say that psycho-analysts are responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs. Ramakrishna used to say, 'If you always say that you are a sinner —you are a sinner, sinner you will become. Always say there is god within you, and then your hidden divinity will manifest itself.' Some of you say that everything is sex, and the result is people become more and more sex-minded. Well, there is the hankering of food in man. Would you like to say that man is only a glutton and nothing else? Would you like to explain everything in man by his food-consciousness? Well, you repeatedly call a man sinner and sinner he becomes."

"You see," said the Professor, "in the west religion has become a failure and hence they can no longer think in terms of spirit. Religion has become

the garment of hypocrisy and insincerity. As a result everywhere people shudder at the name of religion—they cannot think of higher things. Come say Bolshevism will be the fit substitute for religion, while some, turning to psychology, find themselves lost in the dark alleys and blind lanes of the underworld of the human mind."

"Yes, I replied, "I admit religion has been a failure in many cases as far as its application is concerned. But the ideal is there; why do not people strive after the ideal? In a marching army, many fall down, but nevertheless others come out victorious."

"Well, I don't like to talk of ideals. Why do you talk so much of ideals? Why don't you talk about the way in which to realize the ideal? People talk to others about ideal but in their own life they do nothing. I myself do not talk to my patients,—'You ought to do this or that.' What is the use of talking to them that they ought to do this or that, when they are unable to follow that? I am concerned with the present and not with the future. I don't believe in talking about mere ideals."

"Well, as a doctor you have certainly some end in view. You want that your patients should have perfect health. Is that not an ideal?"

"That may be. But I do not think in that line. I am concerned as to how to remove their immediate malady. I think it will be a punishment to me if I say to myself that I have an ideal, some impossible theoretical idea—punishment for the crime of speaking to people about their ideals. In the world all are eager to teach others, preach to others. Why do they not try to realize these ideals in their own life instead of preaching them to others? People are out to do good to others. They do not know how to do good to themselves. The only way of doing good to the world is to do good to oneself."

"Yes, I believe selfishness is ingrained in man's nature. If that be so, let a man become selfish in a proper manner. Let him try to solve the problems of his own life—the problem of life and death—by realizing the Self. People sometimes say that those who leave society for meditative life are 'selfish'—they are doing no good to the world."

"Well, such people will purify the atmosphere if they are sincere and earnest."

"I believe, if a single man realizes his Self, he will do more work for the world than the so-called workers trying to do good to the world. And when a man is earnest about realizing his Self he must withdraw himself from the ordinary preoccupations of life, just as a student before examination forgoes

the pleasure of cinema and football play. Swami Vivekananda would say in joke, ‘Is God sleeping that you will have to do good to the world—to help Him in His work?’”

“Well, a misuse of Christian idea is found in the present world. They say, ‘Love thy neighbour,’ and they omit the words ‘as thyself.’ If you want the world to be better, put your whole energy to bettering yourself. That is the only way to do good to the world.”

“The reason why people are more eager to preach than to practise is that it is easier. Can you say why people go always after cheaper things? Why people like to go downhill and not up?”

“Yes, it is true, almost all prefer downward journey. But the worse is, you make it a general law—that to go down is the nature of man. Why don’t you think of persons—their number may be very few—who like to go up, who forget their all in their attempt to explore the unexplored peak, who believe in the theory—‘It is better to struggle and fail than not to struggle at all.’”

There was a plaintive tone in his words when he said: Why do people go after cheaper things, why do they prefer downward journey—the way to destruction?

These reminded me of the Upanishadic saying: “The Self-existent (God) has made the senses face outwards, and so man looks outwards and does not see the inner self. Some wise man, desirous of immortality, turns his eyes inward and beholds the inner Atman.”

I felt guilty that I was taking too much advantage of the goodness of the Professor and that I kept him talking so long—especially as he had just recovered from his recent illness.

“May I request you one thing?” I said, while I was coming away from him. “We have proved that selfishness in some sense is justifiable. I want to make you a selfish request. When you go back to your home, at your leisure, will you kindly write about your experiences in India for the *Prabuddha Bharata*? Here you are meeting with various kinds of persons. Certainly it is a very interesting experience. I would like to know what you think of those experiences from a distance—after you have gone back to Europe.”

A smile lit up his face. I found he was too courteous to say ‘no’ to a request. “I will remember your request,” he said.

“Thank you very much, good night.”

“Good night.”

As I left the Professor, one thing that was uppermost in my mind was

what a great agony the world is passing through! And was it not due to the fact that we have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage?*

Calcutta

12th January, 1938

*This report was shown to and approved by Prof. Jung.—Writer

Amrita Bazar Patrika, January 7, 1938, page 7

Section of Psychology

To-day's Meeting at Science College

To-day's (Friday's) meeting of the Section of Psychology will be held at the laboratory of psychology, Science College, 92 Upper Circular Road, at 9-30 a.m., instead of Asutosh Hall. On Saturday, the 8th January the sectional meeting will be held at Asutosh Hall as usual.

Dr. S. C. Meyers, C.B.E. M.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., will deliver his first lecture on Vocational Guidance on the 8th January at 4-30 p.m. at Asutosh Hall. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University will preside. The lecture if open to the public, Dr. Myers' second lecture will be delivered on the 9th January at 92, Upper Circular Road.

Prof. Spearman

Entertained at the Great Eastern Hotel

Prof. Spearman was entertained at a private luncheon party by Mr. Suhrid Chandra Sinha at the Great Eastern Hotel yesterday. Besides the principal guest, Dr. G. Bose, Dr. N. N. Sengupta, Dr. S. C. Mitra, Mr. S. K. Bose and Mr. D. Ganguli were present.

Theory of Emotions

Mr. Narayan Shastri's Lecture

Mr. Narayana Shastri, a prominent member of the Psychology section of the Indian Science Congress, and a professor of the University of Mysore, expounded his new theory of emotions before a gathering of eminent Psychologists amongst whom were Professors Spearman, Myers, Jung and several others of international fame.

Mr. Shashtri, after tracing the growth of Psychology, referred to the

splendid work of Professors Spearman and MacDougall, the latter of whom is the author of o theory of emotions. MacDougall believes that every emotion is the feeling tone attached to an instinct and is definitely of great use to the organism. Other psychologists think that emotion is harmful to the individual. Many believe that none is directly aware of an emotional experience. Mr. Shashtri analysed an emotional experience and showed that there are three phases in every emotional experience—anticipatory stage, the haze or choc, and the precipatio stage. Consequent upon perceiving a stimulus, and individual will be moved to action by an impulse. This impulse and the basic perception release emotional energy in the individual. This releasing of energy is like the bursting of a bomb. When released energy flows in the proper channels of muscular expression, this emotion is of great service to the individual. But sometimes this released energy does not send proper expression. Then it incapacitates an individual from proper adaptation. The individual is conscious of the first and the last stages but not of the haze stage. Hence pudging emotional expression there is not direct awareness.

This is considered to be an important advancement in regard to the knowledge of the compositional nature of emotion and Mr. Shastri was warmly congratulated by the eminent psychologists present.

Display of the Psychological Apparatus

A unique feature of this year's session of the Psychology section, is the display of apparatus designed and made in the University of Mysore. Mr. Narayana Shastri who is responsible for the display told that some of the apparatus were superior to foreign ones and he explained the working of the Crime detector and other delicate apparatus. The other important apparatus displayed, are the illusion boards, Maze learning tests, Intelligence testing etc.

The Hindu, January 31, 1938, page 20

The Unconscious Mind

Dr. Jung's Lecture

(From our Correspondent)

Trivandrum, Jan. 28. Dr. Jung—well known psychologist, and one of the

delegates to the Science Congress, delivered a lecture last evening on "The Unconscious Mind" at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall under the auspices of the Travancore University.

Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan , the Pro –Vice Chancellor of the University and the Director of Public Instruction said that it was gratifying that the University had been able to arrange a lecture by Dr. Jung.

The lecturer said that in the early 17th and 18th centuries, the idea of the unconscious mind was a philosophical concept. When there was only the philosophy of the unconscious mind known to the world, a new development in the shape of a psychological treatment of matter was gradually tried with some very great results and an experimental psychological examination was attempted. By gradual stages the pathological condition was dispersed with and a regular test to find out the working of the unconscious mind from a purely psychological point of view was attempted. The Doctor gave amazing instances of a person possessed of a dual personality, one being ordinary and the other being, extraordinary. The dual personality in one and the same individual was the regular phenomenon though the difference in any remarkable manner was not visible to the naked eye. Every man to a small extent represented in himself his own future personality, symptoms of which he exhibited very early in life. What really happened was the ordinary personality of every individual merged into the other extraordinary personality as the person matured, so that when the mingling took place the personality was complete. He concluded that though we would not be quite conscious of it, every woman had in herself a bit of man and vice versa.

Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Ceylon Daily News, Wednesday, February 2, 1938
Professor Jung's Talk on Dreams
Forty Years of Exploration

"Dreams are not the product of conscious and intelligent thinking or conscious activity. They cannot be directed, produced at will or controlled. They are the expression of an autonomous functioning of our psyche," remarked Professor Charles Gustave Jung, the famous psychologist and psychotherapist, in the course of an informal "Talk" on "Dreams" last night

at “Rotherfield,” Albert Crescent, Colombo, the residence of Dr. W. S. Ratnavale.

A fairly large gathering, consisting mainly of medical men, was present.

Dr. Ratnavale introduced Professor Jung as one of the few who had contributed towards the knowledge of modern psychology. They deemed it a special privilege and pleasure to listen to so eminent an authority.

Unconscious Activity

Professor Jung began by stating that he was thoroughly unprepared to speak on the subject. The subject of dreams had been one of his particular hunting grounds and for about 40 years he had been busy exploring that particular phenomenon. The actual psyche was really unconscious and greater experience would impress them of the fact that the consciousness always depended upon the unconscious and if at that moment the unconscious did not collaborate with him he could not say a word. It was the unconscious activity in him which produced the words and the ideas. It might be that as he went on he might give expression to something which he had not thought of before, or it might be that as he was talking a new idea occurred to him. That was because talking caused such a vibration of the unconscious mind that it could make up the necessary steam or energy to rouse the unconscious.

“Uncontrollable”

Dreams were the uncontrollable products of that unconscious activity. Whether they dreamed during night or day dreams were always present although they may not be open to them. For instance, in the course of that lecture on might suddenly begin to doze and be in dreamland. Dreams were natural products. If a dream was a wish, who was the one who wished? That was the great question. Nothing was more poisonous than to apply a sort of pre-conceived idea to the phenomenon of the dream. Instead of talking theoretically of the different scientific aspects of the problem, he would give them a practical example from daily life.

Mountain Sickness

He was once consulted by a young Professor of Psychology from Switzerland who was suffering from neurosis. He had developed certain symptoms of neurosis and had a certain feeling of dizziness as if he was standing on a high mountain peak and wanted to know why he should suffer like that. They knew what mountain sickness was. That Professor had a great career before him, and was thinking of getting a Chair of Philosophy in one of the great

Universities in pre-war Germany. He (Professor Jung) thought that idea gave him a clue to the mountain sickness. The Professor was aiming too high, but he dared not tell him that. He (Professor Jung) told his consultant that it was advisable to ask the two million old man for his advice, by which he meant the unconscious.

Mediaeval Outlook

Psychology was based upon the unconscious functioning of the mind. The structure of the mind was like the structure of the body and all the original functions were embodied in them. In that respect they were primitives. A large number of their population consisted of people who were really living in the Middle Ages. About 50 per cent of the people should not live today but should have lived a couple of hundred years ago. It was the man of the future who knew that it was on himself that he should depend. The people did not believe it. In so-called civilised nations they said that the State was the almighty factor that provided them and was responsible for their welfare.

In the two-million old man, which they called the unconscious, was included heredity. They found themselves with a readymade body and a readymade mind.

Professor's Dream

As dreams were a process of the unconscious mind he asked the young Professor whether he had a dream and he replied that curiously enough he never dreamt but the night before he dreamt that he walked in the main street of a very small village and one of the boys remarked "He does not even show up here." He then asked the lecture how he would interpret that dream. He (Professor Jung) replied that he should know the setting and asked him what kind of village it was and who the boys were. The young Professor replied that it was the village in which he was born and that the boys were poor peasants, his school-mates. His parents at great sacrifice had educated him. He did not like to be reminded of his humble past. He (Professor Jung) told him that he had climbed high from that level and he had got mountain sickness.

The lecture related two other dreams of the young Professor and said that those examples did not cover the whole field of dreams.

Through his study of dreams he had been led to a careful study of the human mind, mythology, ancient philosophy, etc, because they were necessary to understand the symbolism of dreams.

Questions Answered

Professor F. O'B. Ellison asked whether the lecturer's dreams conveyed any definite or useful information to him.

Professor Jung replied that he always controlled his dreams. When he did not know how to decide certain situations he watched his dreams.

Mr. W. R. Watson said that there were certain people who said that they never dreamed.

Professor Jung: Oh, they always dreamed, the only thing is they did not know it.

Mr. W. D. Gunaratne asked whether there was in the make-up of the unconscious some element which partook of the quality to foresee. There was one person there who said that he had three sisters and before each one of them died he had a dream indicating their passing away.

Far Away Happening

Professor Jung said that a dream could bring up mythological symbols of which the dreamer was unconscious. In the same way the dreams could calculate the future and give a proper diagnosis of the future or actually produce a piece of the future. There are dreams in which you are aware of what happens 5,000 miles away.

Mr. Watson asked whether each one could develop a capacity in himself just as much as he developed his intellect so that he might dive deep into the unconscious and make use of it.

Professor Jung replied that that was possible.

Several other questions were also asked from the lecture, after which Dr. Ratnavale proposed a vote of thanks to him which was carried with acclamation.

Sri Aurobindo's Action, November 1986, page 14

Jung's Relevance to India

His Psychological Work, Its Inspiration, Its Guidance

Prof. C. G. Jung has been an outstanding psychiatrist and psychologist of the West in recent times. He was born in 1875 and died in 1961. His autobiographical "Memories, Dreams, Reflections" which is his last writing

is a most interesting reading, all warm and personal, giving a wonderful account of the growth and development of his life, his discovery of the racial unconscious, his archetypes, his interest in yogic practices and mystic experiences of China and India and religious experiences in general. He even mentions some dreams of his, not mentioned before anywhere, which he is inclined to regard as involving reference to a previous birth. His process of individuation and of transformation, of progressive realization of wholeness in life, which later became his central psychological issue, is also stated there in terms of his actual experiences which prompted and promoted it.

His entire body of psychological knowledge throws a most interesting light on what has been India's essential cultural pursuit, of religion and the spirit. And this it does from the standpoint of western empirical science and empirical methods. That is what makes his psychological studies of special relevance to India and in particular, to the pursuit of psychology in India.

In this vast body of psychological knowledge the central fact is that in man there is a spiritual centre, which is working out progressive harmonisation in life. His book 'The Integration of the Personality' is directly concerned with this issue. It discusses the various polarities or dualities of life and their progressive reconciliation.

He was originally a collaborator with Freud but could not agree to the latter's theory that sex was basic impulse in human nature. He felt there were other impulses too and after long researches he came to affirm that the trend towards progressive wholeness was really the basic impulse and that was the essential character of the spirit, foundational, all-embracing, all-commanding.

In 1938, he had come to India on the invitation of the Indian Science Congress (Silver Jubilee Session, Calcutta) and I had then met him and discussed a lot with him. I said to him, "I wish to know, I have a curiosity to know how your relations with Freud underwent a change." He hesitated but said, "I can tell you all that on condition that you don't publish it." I readily agreed and said that my interest was purely personal. He was pleased and he started narrating how he and Freud were travelling together to America to deliver lectures and they entered into an arrangement to tell each other their dreams of the previous night and try to interpret them. He then related to him his dream of going down into a cellar and yet farther down and then seeing a skull, more or less. Jung, on the other hand, saw it as revealing the collective unconscious. And they could not agree on any one interpretation and their paths tended to diverge more and more.

I had also then and occasion to see an emotional storm of his, a small one, which has helped me to understand the emotional storms he was liable to, of which his disciples make a mention.

He did not leave behind a finished and a closed system of thought. He was a wonderfully open-minded research worker and his followers have not hesitated to develop the ideas of Jung in their own way and in new fields of experience. Lately a fine collaborative volume has come out which surveys the creative work done by Jung's followers in recent time. It is titled "Jungian Analysis" (411 pages strong, edited by Murray Stein, published by Shambhala, Boulder and London, 1984). It consists of studies on these subjects: History, goal, structure, dynamics and methods of Analysis. Also treatment of children and the aged, the training of the Analysts etc. etc.

Jung died in 1961 and this records the development of Jungian thought and practice in the United States, where innovations have come about. However, Jungian practice obtains in a good part of the world (about twenty countries as reported here).

Perhaps the most important innovation is that Jungian Analysis is tending to become a method and an approach for an experience of the Self. In one essay it is said: "People who enter Jungian analysis may do so because they wish to know more about themselves, but if the analysis actually works, they come to experience themselves in a way that was previously not possible."

With this objective a corresponding approach and methodology too is developing. One might say a technique of yoga is being added to the philosophy and psychology of individuation and transformation. This is a most promising prospect in Jungian thought and it gives it a special preeminence among current psycho-therapies. And this greatly enhances its relevance to India and to its characteristic cultural pursuit.

Jung's relevance to India is in fact manifold. Self tends to become central to Jungian practice. It had become so to Jungian psychology previously. Now, self has been the most important fact to Indian traditional psychology and it may easily become so again when psychology discovers its own proper roots here.

Further, Jung had delved deep in interpreting cultural life and its varied manifestations. He worked long in this field and evolved techniques and methods to do so. We have in India an unlimited wealth of varied cultural life and the Indian psychologist has a large data for interpretation and evaluation; Jung's work can certainly be a help to us.

—Dr. Indra Sen

APPENDIX B

ARCHIVAL EXTRACTS
PERSONAL MEMOIRS

***Alice Boner Diaries, India 1934–1967,* edited by Georgette Boner (Delhi: Luitgard Soni, Jayandra Soni, Motilal Banarasidas Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1993), page 253**

December 28, 1937, Banaras
Dr. C. G. Jung's lecture in the Hindu University. The elements of psychoanalysis were clearly and understandably presented, with occasional reverence paid to the old Indian psychology. His talk was exceptionally alive and warm. We introduced ourselves to him after his lecture. What a surprise! We took him to the Durga temple and then home. Convocation in the afternoon. In a red academic gown he accepted the honorary doctorate degree. Thereafter, tea behind the observatory. The Vishvanatha Temple and the narrow lanes filled him dread, forcing him to turn back. Then, an unforgettable evening in the house on the Ganga. He had supper with us and related things from his profession. An extraordinary warm atmosphere emanates from him. In fact this alone even without all his theory, would make him a qualified psychiatrist. We were simply captivated. On the next day we took him to the railway station. Georgette and Alfred accompanied him to Calcutta.

"An Affair with India: Alfred G. Würfel in Discussion with Bettina Baumer and Geeti Sen," published in *India: My Karma: Alfred Würfel Remembers* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., October 2006)

Excerpts of Alfred Würfel's interview have been published in the India International Centre Quarterly, Spring 1997

GS: Where did you live in Banaras?

AW: Every second year Alice (Boner) then went to Switzerland for about two months. When she came back from Switzerland in 1936, she moved into a house on Assi Sangam where she lived for forty years. She painted in the barsati. Of course, I could visit her whenever I liked.

GS: You must tell us about your meeting with C. G. Jung, whose books include photographs such as the lingam at Ellora.

AW: One of my subjects in Germany was psychology, and already I had read some of his books. Jung came to India on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress, held in Calcutta in January 1938 and led by the famous astronomer, Sir James Jeans. The Vice-Chancellor, Malaviyaji, had requested Jenas to please come to Banaras to deliver the convocation address—which he did.

Jung gave a lecture at the Faculty of Psychology and came to Alice's house for dinner. To my great surprise, he had a great sense of humour. He said: "I didn't even know that such a thing as a university existed in Banaras—let alone a Faculty of Psychology!" he was deeply impressed by traditional Indian psychology and said to me "compared to Indian psychology, we in the west are still very much in our infancy." Recently I read that already in 1932 he held a seminar on kundalini in Zurich.

GS: How did Jung react to being in India?

AW: His reaction to what he saw in Banaras was memorable. In Vishwanath Gali (which is my favourite Gali), he said suddenly, "No, no I can't bear it anymore! I have to go back to the hotel!" The crowds and whatever else he saw in Banaras, he could not just stand.

BB: Do you have the feeling about Jung that he had an image of India, but he didn't want to confront the reality?

AW: Yes. The reality with which he was confronted in India did not correspond with what he had read on Indian metaphysics and psychology.

I received three letters which Jung wrote to me in India, including one letter to the internment camp. He knew my number, for almost seven years I was not Alfred Würfel, I was number 1014. We had roll call at 8 clock in the morning and at 6 clock p.m. in the camp.

Arindam Basu, "An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung," *Mother India*, July, 1993, Sri Aurobindo Trust, pages 487–491

Summer 1953. My late wife Sobharani[1] and I with our two children had arrived in England in January that year. I took up the post of Spalding Lecturer in Indian Philosophy and Religion at the Department of Oriental Studies in the University of Durham. I saw an announcement in a philosophical journal about the XIth International Philosophy Congress to be held in Brussels, Belgium, the following August. I expressed my desire to attend the Congress to the Director of the Department of Oriental Studies who spoke to Sir James Duff, the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Duff, it may be mentioned here, had years ago a close connection with education in India. He was a member of the University Grants Commission of which Professor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was the Chairman. The Vice-Chancellor readily agreed to send me as a delegate to the international meeting of philosophers to represent the Department of Oriental Studies and the University as well. I with my family arrived in Brussels two days before the Congress was to start. When I went to the Reception Office I was given a well-produced informative Programme of the Congress with the names and addresses of all the participants, the institutions they were representing—some came in their individual capacity—, the dates and times of the meetings of the different sections, the lists and venues of the receptions and parties that the Government and academic and cultural institutions were giving. When I was going through the Programme to find out what, where and when the meetings relating to Indian and Asian philosophy were, I was surprised to read that I was to conduct the deliberations of the section on Social and Political Thought as its Chairman. I mention this not to blow my own bugle but only to inform the readers of this magazine that my selection gave me the opportunity to present Sri Aurobindo's viewpoint in regard to the future society and human unity in my remarks summarising the papers presented and the discussions on them.

Madame Aebi, a Swiss Kantian scholar, was also attending the Congress. My wife and I made her acquaintance and we all became quite friendly. One day I happened to mention that as an undergraduate I had heard her celebrated compatriot C. G. Jung lecture. I had had this privilege on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress held in Calcutta in 1937. Sir James Jeans was the General President. Other eminent

thinkers who were invited included Sir Arthur Eddington. Jung was also one of them.

Even now I remember his tall figure and distinguished face as he was lecturing to a mixed audience which comprised eminent Indian scientists and philosophers and simple but enthusiastic undergraduates like myself. This mixed character is worth mentioning because I was impressed by Jung's earnestness as a lecturer and his sincere effort to make his discourse intelligible to all without sacrificing any of the more difficult themes of his own psychological system. Though I had to study psychology as one of the subjects in my Philosophy Honours course I was not particularly interested in that subject. However, though the Psychology Paper was designed to give us a grounding in the subject and did not include revolutionary developments like the doctrines of Freud, Jung, Adler, Behaviourism, etc. some of us had heard the names of the eminent Western psychologists and systems of psychology. Jung was one of them and his theory of the collective unconscious, in so far as we had learnt of it, intrigued us. So I was interested to hear him lecture and the experience was worth the trouble I had taken in doing so. I must have had a lurking subconscious desire to meet him personally and my wife, who had had psychology as a special paper in her M.A. course, was also keen to do so. So I met Madame Aebi. We hoped that there might be a way open for us to meet the great psychologist. Madame Aebi, when she came to learn of our desire, herself said that if we went to Zurich, she who knew Jung personally, would be happy to arrange a meeting.

Two years later Sobharani and I were in Rome to attend the eighth session of the Congress of the International Association of Historians of Religion, where I gave a lecture on Sacral Kingship in Ancient Indian Thought. At the end of the meeting we proceeded to Switzerland with the intention of meeting C. G. Jung. I had written to Madame Aebi beforehand from England about our visit to the beautiful country at the foot of the Alps, requesting her kindly to try to arrange for us a meeting with Jung. She heartily welcomed us and assured us that we would be able to see the great psychologist. A couple of days after reaching Zurich and some sightseeing we met Madame Aebi who, after ascertaining how long we were staying in Zurich and what our programme was, said she would make contact with Jung and let us know his response. We were very pleased when a day later she rang me at our hotel and told of the day and time when we were to go to Jung's house, a large and beautiful place on the lake Kushnacht. He had also

a summer retreat in a village called Bollingen which gave the name to the series of his collected works. We found his home full of books, journals, papers. Truly a scholar's home and he himself had a sage-like appearance. I was most impressed by his remark that there was yet much to know and do. I may mention that I took a snapshot of Jung who was also photographed with Sobharani and myself by Madame Aebi.

Jung received us cordially and after exchanging courteous pleasantries asked me why I wanted to see him. I told him about the lecture of his which I had attended and that after hearing him on the collective unconscious I had wanted to have a few points cleared from himself. Being encouraged by his enquiry as to what points I wished him to explain, I started with the personal unconscious before raising the question of the racial or the collective unconscious which was my main interest.

I asked him whether it would be right to say that the unconscious was really not unconscious and that ideas etc. "come down" to the conscious mind from the unconscious rather than "rise up" from it or to put it in another way, could the unconscious be described as such only because we were not conscious of it.

Jung answered that if a spatial imagery was to be used, the unconscious could not be said to be below the conscious and that it had in it all that is psychic. From what little I knew of Jung's ideas of the personal unconscious from expositions of his psychological system, I had formed this impression. But I wanted a confirmation of my understanding from the horse's mouth, so to speak. Years after I read in his own writings that according to him the personal unconscious serves as the source of consciousness and ego and has the possibility of some sort of ego or personality within it. It has also been regarded as the source of creative ideas and even of rational thoughts—all suggestive of some degree of consciousness in it. He observes that some psychologist call it the subconscious because of the intermixture of conscious and unconscious in it. Jung, however, rejects this change in terminology because the word implies that the unconscious is a derivative of the conscious mind and lies below it. But he answers that the evidence he has got is that the unconscious is compensatory of the conscious mind. It is not the latter's derivative but constitutes its source, and is not necessarily 'lower' than the conscious mind. And he asks rhetorically, "How do you know that the unconscious is 'lower' and not 'higher' that the conscious mind?" (Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. V, p. 430). The unconscious is not the negation of

consciousness but is so designated because we are not conscious of it (Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, pp. 39–40). The unconscious does not mean that it is the basic quality of this part of the psyche and denotes only limitation of the conscious mind in regard to its awareness of phenomena. The limitation is owing to the fact that we can know nothing about the psyche itself (Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. X, p. 147). Jung characterises the unconscious as a manifestation of the life-instinct and he indicates the possibility of equating this instinct with Bergson's élan vital or with Schopenhauer's Creative Will. It is difficult to understand this remark of Jung, for both Bergson's élan vital and Schopenhauer's Creative Will are metaphysical categories and not psychological concepts. But it is not necessary to pursue this matter here.

The idea of the collective unconscious is Jung's special and original contribution to contemporary psychology. The racial or collective unconscious is, according to Jung, a deeper layer of the psyche which is not formed in an individual's life. Its contents are not repressions of personal desires or sediments of personal memories, rather they are inherited patterns of perception, apprehension and behaviour. The inheritance is not from immediate parents or even a few generations just earlier than them. It goes back to distant historic and prehistoric ages and can even be taken as rooted in man's animal ancestry. As such the collective unconscious is impersonal and this is evident in images produced in pathological states of mind, fantasies and mythical creations. Jung based the concept of the collective unconscious on common occurrences of some the images in dreams, fantasies and pathological states of the mind on the one hand and in myths on the other. The racial or collective unconscious is the repository of myths of all times and climes. Because of their universality, these images are not and cannot be acquired by an individual in his life-time. They seem to be inherited along with the human brain itself. Jung says that the collective unconscious is the psychic correlate of the differentiation of the human brain. In other words, it is the psychic aspect of the inherited brain structure itself (Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. X, p. 9). It must have evolved slowly. A century's events add only an infinitesimally small amount of variation and differentiation to it (*Collected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 376). From the psychical point of view, it contains the deposit of world-processes embedded in the structure of the brain and the sympathetic nervous system. It is therefore supposed to be in its totality a sort of timeless and eternal world-image which counterbalances the conscious momentary picture of the world. Thus it is a

mirror-world lying within us (*Collected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 376). It is so much a world in itself that entering into it the subject ceases to be the subject as he becomes an object of all possible subjects; he becomes utterly one with the world (*Collected Works*, Vol. IX, pt. 2. p. 22).

The concept of the complex is a most interesting and important component of the psychology of Jung. A complex is a feature of the personal unconscious. Jung during therapy sessions in which he used the word-association test found that groups of contents of the personal unconscious may bond together and 'form a cluster as it were.' Jung termed them complexes. An example given by him is the mother complex. There are persons who according to him are governed by this complex. People who have a mother complex are very sensitive to what is said and felt by their mothers, whose images are present in their minds. Such people tend to speak about their mothers whether what they say is relevant or not. They prefer the company of elder women to women of their own age and tend to imitate them.

One of the sources of a complex is what Jung called an archetype. It means an original model which serves as the pattern of other similar things. Jung spoke of several archetypes like birth, death, power, magic, the hero, the child, the demon, the trickster, the wise old man, the earth-mother, the giant, natural objects like the sun, moon, the wind, rivers, fire, animals, God, and many man-mad things as well, for example, rings and weapons. "There are as many archetypes," wrote Jung, "as there are archetypal situations in life. Endless repetition has engraved these experiences into our psychic constitution, not in the forms of images filled with content, but at first only as forms without content representing merely the possibility of a certain type of perception and action" (*Collected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 48).

Jung also did a good deal of work on symbols. A symbol whether in dreams or in waking life fulfils two main purpose. First, it is a representation of a frustrated instinctual impulse. It is not merely a disguise but often a transformation of primitive instinctive impulse. "The symbol is not a sign," writes Jung, "that veils something everybody knows. Such is not its significance. On the contrary, it represents an attempt to elucidate, by means of analogy, something which still belongs entirely to the domain of the unknown or something that is yet to be" (*Collected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 281). Jung means by an archetype in the collective unconscious that which is as yet completely unknown and still to be formed. A symbol primarily tries to

represent an archetype but the result is mostly unsatisfactory because imperfect symbols represent the psyche and are projections of an aspect of man's nature. They are also attempts to express the wisdom acquired by mankind in the past and can represent too the prospective evolution of the individual. There are other things that Jung says about the symbol which we need not go into now, for I wish to give a further account of my conversation with him.

(To be continued)

—Arindam Basu

Arindam Basu, "An Hour and a Half with C. G. Jung," *Mother India*, August, 1993, Sri Aurobindo Trust, pages 570–573

(Continued from the July 1993 issue)

I asked Jung whether I was right in thinking that the collective unconscious was an aspect and a level of the human psyche only. He answered that my idea was correct. Two questions were raised in my mind by his answer. First, whether the images of the Hindu gods and goddesses could be considered as archetypes. Jung said that he had not thought of them as such but that he felt after my query that they could be described as archetypes. I did not pursue the matter, for I had a more important question to ask, which was whether he believed if there was and would be anything abiding if humanity perished after a holocaust, nuclear or otherwise. I remarked that since the racial unconscious was an aspect of the human psyche, if humanity perished, the collective unconscious would also cease to be. Jung's answer was forthright. He said he was not a metaphysician, that he was a doctor interested in the problems of the human psyche and their solution, in the disorders of the human mind and their causes.

The dangerous confusion that can be created by regarding the contents of the "inner world" as spiritual is evident from the writings of some experts on Jung's psychological system. For example, Frieda Fordham in An introduction to Jung's Psychology explains Jung's idea of self thus: "The feeling of godlikeness, of being a superman, which comes through the inflation is an illusion. We may for a brief time possess phenomenal courage, or be infinitely wise or forgiving, but this is something beyond ourselves, and

something that we cannot master at will. We do not really understand the forces that made human beings in this way, an attitude of humility in the face of them is absolutely necessary. But if the ego can relinquish some of the belief in its omnipotence, a position can be found somewhere between the ego with its hardly-won values and unconsciousness with its vitality and power and a new centre of personality can emerge differing in its nature from the ego-centre. Jung calls this new centre of personality the self." In a footnote the author adds, "The term 'self ' is not used as in everyday speech but in the Eastern manner, where Atman, Purusha, Brahman has been a familiar psychological concept from time immemorial. In Hindu thought the self is the supreme principle, the supreme oneness of being" (Pelican Book, 1966, pp. 61–62). The ego, she says, can only be regarded as the centre of the conscious, while the self, however, can include both the conscious and the unconscious (p. 62). What does Frieda Fordham mean by saying that Jung uses the term self "in the Eastern manner"? Are the self of Jung's psychology and the self as conceived in Hindu thought identical? On the next page she says, "Jung clearly maintains that the concept of the self is not that of a kind of universal consciousness which is really only another name of the unconscious." It may be noted that the Jungian self is an archetype. Any discriminating reader with a modicum of knowledge of Hindu thought will see the confusion to which the same word used with completely different significances can lead. Jung himself is careful not to make any metaphysical pronouncements. But his followers are not so discriminating, and the common reader can be easily misguided.

Many people among whom can be counted poets, artists, and intellectuals believe that Jung has made a significant contribution to the understanding of religious symbols, and therefore of religion. I have said above that a symbol tries to represent an archetype. I will now say something about one archetype which is very pertinent to what I think about Jung's position regarding religion. That archetype is God. The God archetype like other archetypes, for example the mother archetype, is the origin of the God complex and belongs to the collective unconscious. From out of a certain individual's experiences of the world the encounters which are relevant to the God archetype cling to it to form the God complex. When the attachment of the experiences relevant to the God archetype becomes more strong, they force themselves into the conscious, and there is formed the God complex. It is not possible nor is it necessary to elaborate the relationship between an archetype and a complex

and the process of the formation of the latter from the former. What I wish to emphasize is that both archetype and complex pertain to the psyche—in Jung's sense of the term, that is, to the human mind.

Let me quote Jung on this point. "…when I say as a psychologist that God is an archetype, I mean by that the 'type' in the psyche. The word 'type' is as we know derived from tuπos, 'blow' or 'imprint', thus an archetype presupposes an imprimatur. Psychology as the science of the soul has to confine itself to its subject and to guard against overstepping its proper boundaries by metaphysical assertions or other professions of faith."

He continues that "even if we should have set up a God, even as a hypothetical cause, it would have implicitly claimed the possibility of proving God, thus exceeding its competence in an absolutely illegitimate way. Science can only be science; there are no 'scientific' professions of faith and similar contradictiones in adiecto. We simply do not know the ultimate derivation of the archetype any more than we know the origin of the psyche. The competence of psychology as an empirical science only goes so far as to establish, on the basis of comparative research, whether for instance the imprint found in the psyche can or cannot reasonably be termed a 'God-image'.

> Nothing positive or negative has thereby been asserted about the possible existence of God any more than the archetype of the 'hero' points to the actual existence of the hero" (Psychology and Alchemy, Vol. XII. Collected Works p. 14).

This statement of Jung about the nature and function of science is admirable and of course quite right. But that should not blind his readers to the fact that he has not said anything affirmative about a reality which is not a component of the collective unconscious or more generally the human psyche. And it is not necessary to point out that there is no true religion without at least the faith, if not the intuition and experience, of a self-existent, self-aware Reality. It is said by many that Jung has 'opened' the 'inner world'. Well, religious practices may and do 'open' the 'inner world' in the case of many seekers. But that world is not the spiritual world but part of the universe which is phenomenon and not noumenon.

It is hardly necessary to point out to discerning students of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and yoga that there is almost nothing in common between his metaphysical psychology and the analytic psychology of Jung, except certain key terms which, as said above, mean vastly different things respectively in the two systems. People not too careful may be misled by

phrases like the integration of personality as used by Jung. Personality here primarily corresponds to the mental nature of man. Sri Aurobindo would certainly say that it is highly desirable to bring about as much harmony as possible in the out personality which comprises is his system the physical, vital and mental nature. But he would also say that it is not possible to do so except to a little extent if the spiritual soul, what he calls the psychic being, does not come to the front and actively take over the work of effecting a balance of the outer parts of the human nature, to wit, the physical, vital and mental nature. The psychic being as realised and explained by Sri Aurobindo is not an archetype, a content of the racial or collective unconscious, whatever that may mean, of the analytic psychology of Jung, who has no room in his system for what Sankhya, Yoga, Vedanta and Sri Aurobindo term spirit, self or soul and is quite an inadequate rendering of Atman or Purusha.

I visited the Jung Institute in Zurich, talked to many teachers, research scholars and therapists there. I asked them whether the symbols as understood by Jung represented anything outside the psyche in Jung's sense of the term. It was explained to me, as I have already said, that a symbol was an attempt to express an archetype and that therefore it cannot be said to have any relation to anything outside the psyche in Jung's sense of the term which is really what is broadly called the mind in the yogic psychology. While Jung as a psychologist has done admirable work with an amazing wealth of scholarship to unravel the universal character of symbols as seen in dreams and fantasies, his sight is entirely confined to the world of symbols only. Even God is an archetypal symbol for him. For Sri Aurobindo, however, a symbol is a reality of one plane of being and consciousness representing a reality of another plane and God is not and archetypal symbol but the Ultimate symbolised, of which or of whom there can be and are innumerable symbols none of which is adequate.

God is the self-existent and self-aware Reality of whom there are many aspects. He is transcendent of and immanent in the world including the psyche, as the word is understood both in Sri Aurobindo's sense and in Jung's. only one of the two aspects, to wit, the transcendent, cannot be affirmed as the nature of the Reality. But the important point is that even as such it is not an archetype in the mind of man. And without faith in such a Reality there neither is nor can be any genuine religion and spirituality.[2]

(Concluded)

—Arindam Basu

NOTES

[1] D.Lit (Calcutta, Ph.D Durham, M. A, Calcutta and Banaras). Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University.

[2] After finishing this article I have read in an article on archetype by Beverley Moon in Encyclopedia of Religion (Ed. M. Eliade, Vol. 1 p. 381) a reference to an interview in the BBC programme "Face to Face." In it in answer to a question by the interviewer whether Jung believed in God he said that he has no need of belief because he knew by experience. I heard this programme but do not remember Jung claiming direct knowledge of God by experience though he did say that he knew. I think he did not reply how he came by that knowledge. Can it be that he meant by God nothing else but an archetype?

Miguel Serrano, *C. G. Jung and Hermann Hesse: A Record of Two Friendships* (Einsiedeln: Daimon Verlag, 1997), pages 61–71. *Excerpt from "My First Interview with Dr. Jung"*

The importance of India in this relationship cannot be overemphasized. Without my Indian experience, it is probable that I should never have been attracted to that great man, and in the end, India was the link that joined us, since it had as much importance for Jung as it has for Hesse. It was Mrs. Indira Gandi, Prime Minister Nehru's daughter, who had first introduced me to Dorothy Norman, an intelligent American woman who was interested in Jung and in his work with symbols. When Mrs. Norman learned that I wished to meet Jung, she telegraphed Dr. Jolande Jacobi, one of Jung's disciples in Zurich, asking her to try to arrange an interview. Yet even with the help of Dr. Jacobi, it wasn't easy to meet Jung in those days, since he was living in complete retirement. When we met in Zurich, however she told me that Dr. Jung was vacationing in Locarno. Since I had to pass through Locarno on my way to visit Hermann Hesse, I decided to try to see him there.

And thus it was that I found myself on the afternoon of February 28, 1959, standing in the large hall of the Hotel Esplanade, in Locarno, waiting for Dr. Jung. I immediately recognized him as he came down the central stairway. He was tall but a little stoop-shouldered, had wispy white hair and carried a pipe in his hand. He greeted me affably in English and invited me to

sit down with him in a corner by a balustrade where we would be completely private.

"I understand you have just come from India," he said. "I was there some time ago, trying to convince the Hindus that it is impossible to get rid of the idea of the Ego or of unconsciousness, even in the deepest state of *samadhi*."

Thus Dr. Jung immediately began on the central theme. His gestures and words were solemn and elegant, but underneath there was a burning enthusiasm which indicated his extraordinary vitality, even though at that time he was nearly eighty-two years old.

Dr. Jung continued: "When I was at the University of Calcutta in Bengal, I discussed the matter with various Brahman doctors and professors, but they were unable to understand. I tried to explain to them that if Ramakrishnan, for example, had been able to get rid of his consciousness completely in his moments of profound ecstasy, then those very moments would have been nonexistent. He would never have been able to remember them or to record them, or even to consider them as having any existence at all." . . .

"I have always thought," I said, "that the Hindu tries to get rid of the Ego in order to escape from the wheel of *Samsara*; eternity for him would be like a continuous state of insomnia, and he therefore wants to blend himself into the concept of the Whole . . . Perhaps to gain that state, to reach the Super-conscious, one has to gain that state, to reach that Super-conscious, one has to get rid of the everyday rational consciousness. Thus the difficulty between yourself and the Hindus may merely be one of misunderstanding, or a failure to realize what the Hindu really means when he says that he wishes to overcome the Ego."

'That may well be," said Jung, "for the Hindus are notoriously weak in rational exposition. They think, for the most part, in parables or images. They are not interested in appealing to reason. That, of course, is a basic condition of the Orient as a whole . . . As for your hypothesis about the Super-conscious, that is a metaphysical concept and as a consequence, outside of my interests. I wish to proceed solely on facts and experiences. So far, I have found no stable or definite center in the unconscious, and I don't believe such a center exists. I believe that the thing which I call self is the ideal center, equidistant between the Ego and the Unconscious, and it is probably equivalent to the maximum natural expression of individuality, in a state of fulfilment or totality. . . . The Hindus have written wisely on this point. According to the Sankhya philosophers, the *Purusha* is the Self, and the

Atman may be similar to it. But the definition always takes the form of a parable."

"The Hindus live entirely in symbols," I said, "They are penetrated and interpenetrated by them, but they don't interpret them, nor do they like anyone else to interpret them, since that would be like destroying them. I think that is why your work is not much known or discussed in India, even though you have devoted so much time to its culture and to the orient in general. You interpret symbols. On the other hand, you are very well-known and widely read in my own country." . . .

"Yes, India is an extraordinarily interesting country, and you should live that experience right, and you should live it intensely until the hour comes . . . I also wanted to confront that universe and, as a product of the Christian West, to use it to test my own ways, and to give life to those zones within me which correspond to those of the Hindus, but which in the West, for the most part, remain dormant. And that is why I went to India in 1938. Let me tell you what I now think of that country, you can correct me later. As far as I can see, an Indian, so long as he remains in India, doesn't *think*—at least not in the same way we do. Rather, he *perceives* a thought. In this way, the Indian approximates primitive ways of thinking. I don't say that the Indian is primitive, but merely that the process of his thought remind me of primitive methods of producing thoughts. Primitive reasoning is, in essence, an unconscious function which only perceives immediate results. We can only hope to find that kind of reasoning in a civilization which has progressed virtually without interruption from primitive times. Our natural evolution in Western Europe was broken by the introduction of a psychology and of a spirituality which has developed from a civilization higher than our own. We were interrupted at the very beginning when our beliefs were still barbarously polytheistic, and these beliefs were forced underground and remained there for the last two thousand years. That, I believe explains the divisiveness that is found in the Western mind. Still in a primitive state, we were forced to adopt the comparatively sophisticated doctrines of Christian grace and love. A dissociation was thus produced in Western man between the conscious and the unconscious part of the mentality . . .

"In India we can find a civilization which has incorporated everything that is essential to primitivism and, as a consequence, we find man considered as a whole. The civilization and psychology of India are well-represented in their temples, because these temples represent the Universe. I

make this point in particular in order to explain what I mean by *not thinking*. What I mean is simply that, thank God, there is still a man who has not learned how to think, but who still perceives his thoughts as though they were visions or living beings, and who perceives his gods as though they were visible thoughts, based on instinctive reality. He has made peace with his gods, and they live with him. It is true that the life he leads is close to Nature. It is full of hope, of brutality, misery, sickness and death; nevertheless, it has a completeness, a satisfaction and an emotional beauty which is unfathomable." . . .

"Yes, India is archetypal." said Jung. "And that is why I made no plans to visit Swamis or Gurus whe n I went to India; I didn't even go to see Ramana Maharshi, who had so interested Somerset Maugham, because I felt that it was not necessary to do so. I knew what a Swami was; I had an exact idea of his archetype."

Excerpt from "An Indian Morning," pages 122–123

That day I rose very early. It was a midsummer's morning, and already the heat had begun to rise. I walked out onto the terrace beside my room and glanced at the mango tree which cast its shadows across the lawn. I greeted the sun and then began my yoga exercises. After a little while, I saw the bearer in his turban walking barefoot along the path. When he reached me, he put his hands together and said, "Namaste," which means more or less, "I greet the God who is within you." He then handed me a telegram. I opened it immediately and read in the glare of the morning light, the following message: "Professor Jung died peacefully yesterday." It was signed "Bailey and Jaffe." The strong light of the sun and the heat then forced me to move.

That morning I had to go to the Delhi Airport to say goodbye to Prime Minister Nehru, who was leaving for a holiday in the Himalayas. He was going to the Kulu Valley, or the Valley of the Gods. When I reached the airport, Nehru was already walking towards the airplane. He was dressed in white, and his graceful figure moved elegantly, with that spiritual elegance which was always a part of his charm.

I showed him the telegram I had received a few hours earlier, for Nehru was also an admirer of Jung. I then said, "You know how interested Jung was in India. A word of condolence from you or from your government would be deeply appreciated."

Nehru meditated for a moment. "From here, I can't manage to give the order personally," he said. "But please speak to Mr. Desai, the Secretary for

Foreign Affairs, and ask him to send a telegram of condolence in my name."

And so it was that India was present at the death of the man who had worked so hard to understand the profound values of its civilization, and to bring the values of India to bear on the Western world. And so, too, another Great Circle was closed.

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